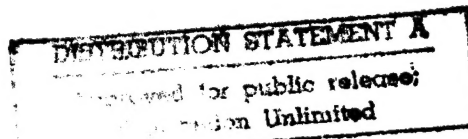


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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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3 February 1984

## EAST EUROPE REPORT

### POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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EDITOR, PEACE OFFICIAL CLAIM UNOFFICIAL PEACE MOVEMENT DISRUPTIVE

Copenhagen INFORMATION in Danish 16 Dec 83 p 2

[Report by Kirsten Bruun of interview with Renate Mielke, secretary of the East German Peace Council, and Gerhard Zazworka, editor of HORIZONT, date and place not given]

[Text] "Everybody may fight for peace in the way that fits in with his own motivation," Renate Mielke, secretary of the East German Peace Council, says in an interview with INFORMATION. She and Gerhard Zazworka, who is the editor of the East German foreign policy magazine HORIZONT, have been on a visit in Denmark this week. "So when we do not recognize the various independent peace groups, it is because they are not real peace groups," Renate Mielke goes on to say.

What is in question here is a long series of peace activities that have taken place in the GDR in the last few years side by side with arrangements that the Peace Council stands for. The Lutheran Church has engaged in such activities in various ways and with varying degrees of energy. Unconnected with the church there are a large number of groups all over the GDR that are working among other things for disarmament and for the right to refuse military service.

For a long time the East German authorities tolerated these "splinter groups," as Gerhard Zazworka calls them. Zazworka accounts for the attitude of the authorities by their believing that these groups would come to their senses. But gradually they realized that they were not oriented in a peaceful direction, but on the contrary were oriented against the government and were seeking to make the government's effort unworthy of credit. It was also part of their objective to create disorder directed against the legal order in the GDR, says Gerhard Zazworka.

INFORMATION asks whether it does not cause concern in the Peace Council that large parts of the western peace movement do not regard the mass demonstrations that the Peace Council stands for as a trustworthy expression of a desire for peace. He answers:

"Parts of the Western peace movement have become victims of the Western press's propaganda of fear. The independent groups (in the GDR) are not

out to create an open debate. They only want to make trouble with the positions they take. That is how it is portrayed in the Western press, where the big demonstrations are ignored, and where on the other hand the small groups are portrayed as heroes," says Gerhard Zazworka.

We remark that Western peace people who have visited these groups have gotten the impression that they are against the stationing of new atomic missiles in Western Europe. Does this not make them worthy of recognition as real peace groups?

"The groups that are working in East Germany are not against the Western first-strike weapons. Anyway, they have information enough in the East German press to make up their minds against them. It was not until he went to West Germany that Roland Jahn of Jena said that if he had been in the West he would have been against the new NATO weapons," Renate Mielke says, referring to one of the East German peace activists who was forced to leave East Germany earlier this year.

"In East Germany we look with great concern upon many features of developments in the West; e.g., we are worried about the Berufsverbot [denial of a person's right to practice a profession] in West Germany. But peace organizations must not become a forum for debate or implicit criticism of the opponent's society," says Zazworka, adding that the activity that some Western peace activists are carrying on in order to maintain contact with the independent groups is viewed as meddling.

Zazworka's paper, *HORIZONT*, contains in its issue 22 of this year [1983] an article entitled: "NATO: Missiles Instead of Social Security." It deals with the consequences that the arms build-up has for the Western peoples, under subheadings such as "Teacher Shortage," "Illiteracy," "Youth Unemployment," "Increasing Criminality," and "Violence Against Children." To the question of the extent to which these articles are an expression of a recognition that the arms build-up is not only an international question but also has consequences for the internal conditions in the societies, Zazworka answers that his paper is not connected with the Peace Council and therefore has a right to take up such questions.

In the course of the interview we also went into the Peace Council's political program.

The Warsaw Pact recently decided to station atomic weapons in East Germany, and the East German government has officially declared that the stationing of these weapons has begun.

Part of the Western resistance to atomic weapons is rooted in a concern about security arrangements and the militarization of society that such weapons bring with them. We asked whether the East German Peace Council shares this concern.

"We are still just in the very first preparatory phase," Gerhard Zazworka answers, "so that the question of security consequences for the East German population has not arisen."

One of the Peace Council's official slogans is "Training for Peace." Renate Mielke explains that this is a social mission. The young will be trained to respect life and their fellow men, for friendship and for a party alignment.

At the same time, however, training in military discipline and military science in the public school is obligatory. Gerhard Zazworka bases this on the need for an army that is ready for action.

But do the official peace people not feel any concern for the influence that it may have on a person's thinking?

"There is no conflict between the desire to train for peace and instruction in military discipline and military science in the public school," Gerhard Zazworka says. "The GDR must be in a position to defend itself against attacks from the West. President Reagan's policy has increased our fear of an attack from the West."

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CSO: 3613/66

PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Election Conference on Rebuilding Authority

Szczecin KURIER SZCZECINSKI in Polish 28 Nov 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by wab]

[Text] The PZPR reports-elections campaign in the Police Chemical Plant [ZCh] is coming to an end. On Friday, the plant conference took place, in which the first secretary of the KW [provincial committee] of the PZPR, Stanislaw Miskiewicz, took part.

In the PZPR KZ [plant committee] executive board report the present first secretary, Marcin Klamerek, presented an evaluation of the 2.5 year period of the party plant organization's activity. He discussed extensively the period before the declaration of martial law, during which time many members of the party gave up their party identity cards under the influence of moral pressure from the political opposition, while the plant committee and a large part of party activists were unable to fight the adversary in an effective manner.

It was not until necessary cadre changes and a re-evaluation of the activities program were made in December 1981 that conditions were created for carrying out policies based on the decisions of the Ninth PZPR Congress.

The following years 1982 and 1983 represent a period of work in support of rebuilding party authority. Branch organizations have taken part in realizing programs for the improvement of work force social conditions and they have participated in working out programs for economic thrift. A party support group for environmental protection was established and the rules of party policy recommendations for leadership posts were adopted. At present, divisions still do occur among staff members, but agreement as concerns honest work exists at the same time, the result of which is an improvement in economic results in the last months.

Next, the director general of the Police ZCh, Mieczyslaw Lewandowski, discussed the plant's present economic situation. There is an upward trend in production, though the manufacture of fertilizer in the amount produced in 1979 will only be reached next year. Also, the production of titanium white still falls short

of domestic demand. A major difficulty is the significant shortages in employment which, however, should improve after the last wage adjustments. Work in support of shortening the time for repairs and for a reduction in the use of raw materials is a necessity.

In a discussion hours long it was mentioned that there was a need for improving efficiency in party work and for improving the process of accommodating young people--students of schools attached to the plant and newly engaged workers. Many examples were given of the unreliability of cooperants of spare parts and the problems which result from late deliveries of essential equipment for structures connected with environmental protection.

During the course of the conference, Stanislaw Miskiewicz took the floor stating that the most important areas of party work at the present time are the struggle for political unity and work in support of winning over broad circles of society, the introduction of economic reform, the development of self-government, and a constant struggle with the political foe.

The conference carried out elections for the 30-person plant committee, of which Marcin Klamerek was once again elected first secretary by a majority of votes among two proposed candidates. Elected as delegates to the provincial conference were Marcin Klamerek, Mieczyslaw Lewandowski, and Romuald Szczepkowski.

Conference participants passed a resolution condemning the decision of the NATO countries to place missiles with nuclear warheads on the territory of Western Europe.

During the course of the conference we spoke with members of the party, delegates from the OOP [branch party organization] of the Titanium White Factory.

Stanislaw Kurczynski--foreman, in party service: "What bothers me is that there are only 19 workers among the delegates. I think that such a situation is unthinkable in the future.

"Today, the most important task for the party is work with young people. Indoctrination in schools is a real problem. It is there, precisely, that young people should have explained what sort of country they live in and learn and in which they will work in the future."

Henryk Kubasz--foreman, in party service: "The most important problem for us in the plant is a shortage of work hands. Under present conditions, now that we have raw materials and efficient installations, an increase in employment would allow for a greater production of titanium white.

"The party organization does a lot for staff members. We care for social matters and fight for apartments. People come to us for help."

## Reports-Elections Campaign on Unity

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 29 Nov 83 pp 1,8

[Text] During the course of reports-elections conferences and meetings there is often talk of the weaknesses of primary organizations in production departments. There is insufficient participation on the part of political groups, also the OOP's [branch party organizations] and the POP's [primary party organizations] in the process of political influence on the working class. Detecting these problems and especially providing regular help to party cells working among workers is the duty of administrative units and activists of all levels in the coming term. In fulfilling this duty we create conditions for party unity with working people.

### An Account of Needs

Representatives of the more than 680 member party organization of the Konecki Casting Plant [KZO] met at the reports-elections conference. During this term, 119 comrades left its ranks. The majority of them were dropped because of an attitude unbecoming a party member. Care as to the quality of party ranks and the elimination of instances where statutory principles were disturbed and obligations unfulfilled were the major assignments of the Factory Commission for Party Supervision, which discharged the responsibilities entrusted to it very well.

The comrades noted in the discussion that the strength of the party is decided by its basic cells. Meanwhile, in the KZO, as a result of memberships dropped and party members of merit and of many years service retiring, the lowest level of party membership is in the basic production departments. In order to strengthen an organization which has rich traditions and which is one of the best in the Konecki region, it is necessary to emphasize work with the working class in production departments. As many as 280 party members in the KZO are pensioners and those on disability. They have a great deal of experience in career and political work and can help the plant or organization. Still there should be a greater interest in these very individuals on the part of the plant in which they worked for several years. Also on the agenda were questions concerned with the growth of market production, the introduction of a system of compensation based on motivation, and the realization of a program of thrift. There was no shortage of attention given to the need for a more effective struggle with pathological phenomena in public life, bribery and speculation.

On the initiative of the plant council of PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth], the conference passed a resolution in which a protest was contained against the arms race and the placing of nuclear weapons in Western Europe.

Once again, Jan Kotas was elected first secretary of the KZ of the PZPR in the KZO.

## In Public Service

The party organization in the WUSW [Provincial Office of Internal Affairs] in Kielce numbers more than 750 members and candidates. Yesterday, during the institutional reports-elections conference, its achievements in the past term were summed up. Both in the report of the outgoing executive board, in the speech by the head of the WUSW, Col Jozef Dolak, as well as the evaluation by the KM [city committee] of the PZPR, represented by the first secretary, Zdzislaw Skowrona, and also in discussions it was emphasized that the period of destabilization of sociopolitical life as well as the economic crisis were conducive to breaking the laws and principles of social coexistence. Officials of the MO [Citizens' Militia] and the SB [Security Services] stand guard for public safety and order. In the difficult period just past they performed their duty rather well. The party organization deserves considerable credit for this. Thanks to this, certain negative phenomena were overcome, e.g., speculation and economic or criminal offenses.

The dimensions of crime decrease commensurately with the stabilization of our lives. It continues, however, to appear with greater or less intensity. There are numerous instances of waste, the number of traffic accidents is not getting smaller, and there are many instances of the production and selling of illegal alcohol. Speaking of tasks for the immediate period, there was stressed a need for continuing the struggle with the political foe and for resisting economic and criminal offenses, especially those threatening the lives and health of citizens. We should continue to resist all manifestations of social pathology. In the discussions, attention was turned to the need for strengthening discipline and perfecting work and service, and for increasing the role of POP's in developing the ideological-moral attitudes of officials. Also, much space was dedicated to social-life style matters, health care and work conditions.

Participating in the proceedings was Maciej Lubczynski, first secretary of the KW of the PZPR in Kielce, who acquainted those assembled with the sociopolitical situation of the country and the province. During the course of the conference a 33-member plant committee was elected, of which Capt Edward Kotulski became first secretary.

## Closer to Labor's Problems

Thirty-eight delegates representing an almost 320-member party organization of the Tobacco Industry Plant [ZPT] in Radom assembled yesterday at the reports-elections conference. They evaluated the realization of resolutions past 2.5 years ago at the last conference.

The basis for discussions was a speech by the first secretary of the KZ of the PZPR, Waldemar Kaczmarzski, and a plant organization appraisal presented by the first secretary of the KM of the PZPR in Radom, Henryk Skorza.

During the period in question 104 individuals left the party ranks, while there were 24 new members gained. In spite of a weakening of cadres and a certain stagnation in the first stage, the party recovered rather quickly at the tobacco plant, concentrating its attention mainly on the realization of party resolutions,



the economic and social situation, cooperation with self-government organizations and unions, as well as cultural-educational activity--with significant results. There was organized at the ZPT--the second one in the town--a branch of the Citizens' Committee for National Rebirth [OKON]; earlier, also, workers' self-government was revived, and an organizing committee was established immediately after the law on new labor unions appeared. Attached to the plant is one of the province's most modern Workers' Cultural Centers. The youth organization is large, while the plant's Club for Improvement and Technology is known beyond the confines of the province.

However, many matters were not able to be solved. In the discussion, in which a dozen or so individuals took part, difficult social conditions and the ever-unsolved apartment question were pointed out; also, there was talk about the small scale of activity on the part of the nevertheless numerous youth organization. The secretary of the KW of the PZPR, Bogdan Misztal, referred to these matters in his speech. He pointed out the need to stimulate young people and to lower the fluctuation of cadres and the number of hours not worked. The staff of the tobacco plant is employed during three full shifts, so that increasing production is possible only by better use of work time and being frugal with raw materials.

The delegates elected a 19-member plant committee, and once more Waldemar Kaczmariski was entrusted with the function of first secretary.

Maria Stadnicka, member of the Central Audit Commission, participated in the proceedings.

#### Improving Work Organization

Many myths have grown around the subject of the PGO [State Horticultural Farms] in Piekoszow. However, it does not change the fact that that which was once very prosperous became a losing venture. Losses reach 20,000,000 zl. That is why there is gigantic unrest among staff members, and especially members of the party, about the fate of the establishment. This was felt at the reports-elections meeting. A small group of PZPR members, barely more than 30 individuals (this is 6 percent of the staff belonging to the party), is aware that much depends on good work and the involvement of people, but also on good work organization. For many years, the PGO was not lucky enough to have good managers. In its dozen or so years of existence, there was a change here of a few managing directors and anywhere from 10 to 20 deputy directors. And each of them had new ideas which, as it turned out, were not always wise. The financial deficit intensified a huge increase in prices for mazut, a shortage of permanent retail centers of their own, and a preference for owners of private gardens.

Work is best when it is in a climate of mutual trust and in a situation where management is good. It is easiest then. Therefore, I have a great deal of esteem for those few members of the party who did not leave their organization and plant in the period of a singular test.



The POP at the PGO in Piekoszow surely does not belong to the leading party organizations in the gmina. This was noticeable at the meeting and it was evident from the report of the outgoing executive board. Also, there were no persons eager for work in the new leadership. Still, the farm together with POP has an opportunity to head for something better. Leaders of the organization have been selected and in the contest for director, a person deserving of trust, it seems, has been appointed. A program of activities was adopted, a simple one but one guaranteeing the realization of the most urgent tasks.

#### Gdansk Board on Party Tasks

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 29 Nov 83 p 2

[Article by j]

[Text] The plenary session of the provincial committee of the PZPR in Gdansk will take place this coming Monday. The subject of its deliberations will be the party's tasks in the process of the socialist indoctrination of youth. During yesterday's meeting, the executive board of the KW, reviewing materials prepared for the plenum of the KW, added a series of comments and proposals to them. Their consideration will give more depth to the prepared analyses and evaluations that no doubt will afford the plenum of the KW a realization of tasks in the area of shaping attitudes of young people in the process of its socialist indoctrination.

In the next item of the deliberations, the executive board discussed and confirmed a program of celebrations in Gdansk Province for the 35th anniversary of the union of the workers' movement and the emergence of the PZPR. This anniversary, as everyone knows, falls on 15 December of this year. Meetings of POP's are foreseen on the subject of the history and tradition of the workers' movement in Poland with particular consideration given to the role of the PZPR during the development of our country after the war. Indoctrination classes and ceremonies devoted to this anniversary will take place in the schools. They will also be devoted to discussing the historical PPR [Polish Workers' Party] and PPS [Polish Socialist Party] Union Congress. Workers in the workers' movement will participate in them. The ZMS [Union of Socialist Youth] foresees in its program many ceremonies appropriate to the occasion--lectures, meetings with veterans, and the like. An extended meeting of the Commission on the History of the Workers' Movement of the KW will also take place on the subject: "The PZPR in Relation to the Traditions of the Workers' Movement." There will be a commemoration of the memory and achievement of party workers who made a great contribution to the strengthening of the party and authority of the people on the Baltic Coast, particularly in the first years after liberation.

Next, the executive board familiarized itself with the course of the present ongoing reports-elections campaign in party organizations. Meetings have taken place already in all party groups, and meetings in branch and primary organizations are coming to an end (of 2,912 OOP's and POP's they had taken place in over 92 percent of the organizations by the 26th of this month). A few days ago plant and gmina reports-elections conferences of the PZPR began. It is expected that at the beginning of the last 10 days of December conferences in all units at the first level will be concluded--in keeping with established agreements.

Ideological-indoctrinational problems dominate the meetings during discussions. At the same time, a need for more energetic work by plant administration and local authorities on behalf of solving social-life style problems is being pointed out, as well as the necessity for intensifying the struggle with parasitism, gaining excessive wealth (particularly people from the private farming and grade sector), with private interests and with rising phenomena of social injustice.

Around a third of the party leaders were reelected in the election results. As emphasized at the meeting, many people who are young, committed and proven in social work are being elected to executive boards and as secretaries of party organizations. The number of workers and peasants being elected to the party leadership is increasing. More attention must be devoted to this problem--the executive board of the KW maintains--by all units, especially during elections of delegates to district and town conferences and to the provincial conference. It is a question of greater participation in party leadership on the part of workers and peasants in a meaningful fashion.

#### Campaign on Effect of Daily Work

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 29 Nov 83 p 1,2

[Article by A. Met]

[Text] "During today's deliberations we appraise and sum up our work to date in answer to the question: have we done sufficiently enough for the staff at the shipyard, for the party and the country?," stated the first secretary of the KZ of the PZPR, Zbigniew Biernat, opening yesterday the reports-elections conference of the party organization at the Paris Commune Shipyard in Gdynia. "Such an honest appraisal of our work and suggestions from discussions," he added, "will permit the setting up of tasks for the forthcoming term."

The basic role in appraising the PZPR shipyard organization was assumed by the reports-elections campaign in party groups and the OOP's. The most vital problems raised in the lowest party cells were thus reviewed at the plant conference, during which 101 delegates represented a 1,400-person body of PZPR members. Among others, arriving for the deliberations were Politburo candidate member and first secretary of the KW of the PZPR in Gdansk, Stanislaw Bejger; Central Committee Secretary Waldemar Swirgon; and Deputy Minister of Metallurgy and the Machine Industry Eugeniusz Szatkowski.

One of the most important goals that the party shipyard organization set for itself was the strengthening of unity of its ranks, improving organizational competence and working in support of creating positive social attitudes. However, these goals, as mentioned in the discussion, were not fully realized. At present, the most vital task is to convey thoroughly to the workplace, to the shipyard, the provisions of the resolutions of the 13th and 14th Plenums of the Central Committee which are concerned with ideology, economics and policy.

Besides fulfilling its basic economic function, the socialist enterprise has a constitutional obligation to carry into effect assignments of a social nature. One of them, among others, is the development of socialist consciousness. Only a management cadre which identifies with the system and an active party organization with a broad influence can fulfill this assignment. Foremen and the youth organization have a tremendous role to play, since the shipyard predominantly employs young people.

In order to play a leading role in the building of socialism, the party, through its members, must take part in the lives of other organizations and effectively influence them. And so, for instance, the passive attitude of party members with regard to the union movement is disadvantageous to the interests of working people. Aggressiveness should accompany all party actions, and also activity in support of participation in PRON.

Ideology must stand as one with policy and economy--this was stressed particularly within the context of the resolutions of the 13th Plenum of the Central Committee. The shipyard is an integral part of the national economy and the success of its activities has an indirect influence on bringing about the unity mentioned earlier. That is why members of the party must examine the negative phenomena appearing in the shipyard's economic sphere. Lengthening the time to build ships produces, among other things, an insufficient utilization of production potential at the shipyard and an increase in production costs. In a portion of the work force, a fluctuation of cadres continues to occur. Low productivity is a result both of dislocations in punctual deliveries of allied materials as well as infractions in the internal coordination of jobs and weak work discipline. Against this background, a disparity occurs that is based on wages rising at a higher rate than that of productivity. The purpose for bringing these negative phenomena out into the open is to work out constructive suggestions for the future. Economic reform denotes correctness and purposefulness in running up all of our own component costs, mainly by sound economic management at each individual work station.

In the discussion, the following question was asked: Against the background of the phenomena presented, does the shipyard party organization adequately influence the economic activity of the shipyard? Not all activities, and they do not always bring expected results.

The role of PZPR members in the organs of self-government was accented. Their involvement, it was emphasized, should bear fruit with the shipyard's better results in the near future. The party organization should initiate the drawing up of the shipyard's economic-social programs, whose effect will be assuring staff members suitable work conditions and wages. In a many-hours long splendid discussion, many problems were touched upon connected with various spheres of internal party life, sociopolitical and economic life. There was mention of the political and organizational strengthening of the PZPR, unanimity of words and deeds, activity of party members as well as the realization of Marxist-Leninist principles of performance of the PZPR. It was stressed that socio-economic policy will always be the basis for appraisal of the party's credibility by people who find themselves directly on the job. It is necessary to guard the worker's effort from decisions that have not been thought out, and

that frustrate the results of his work. There was an indication of a need for objective and just appraisals, for the meaning of truthfulness, responsibility and involvement. The party--it is maintained--must be one of the classes and it must be disciplined. Numerous instances of morbidity and irregularity in economic and social life were pointed out.

The first secretary of the KM, Zygmunt Rosiak, presented the appraisal of party shipyard organization work by the KM of the PZPR in Gdynia.

The first secretary of the KW in Gdansk, Stanislaw Bejger, addressed in his speech the questions taken up in the discussion. He stressed that the course of the reports-elections campaign strengthened the leadership position of the party in the Paris Commune Shipyard. He also recalled that the shipyard party organization contributed to the normalization of the work routine. The discussion, Stanislaw Bejger said, confirmed how important the struggle is for regaining the guiding role of the PZPR in all of society. All proposals put before the provincial committee, he added, will be reviewed judiciously.

During the course of yesterday's conference eight delegates were selected to the provincial conference, among them the secretary of the KW, Mieczyslaw Chabowski. Also, 18 delegates were elected to the municipal conference in Gdynia, including the secretary of the KM, Kazimierz Litzbarski, and the mayor of the city, Jan Krzeczowski.

Zbigniew Biernat was once more elected first secretary of the Paris Commune Shipyard plant committee of the PZPR.

Furthermore, reports-elections conferences took place yesterday in gmina committees of the PZPR in Sierakowice, Pszczolki, Choczewo and Morzeszczyn. Participating in them were secretaries of the KW Mieczyslaw Stefanski, Edward Kijek, Joanna Michalowska-Gumowska and Leon Brancewicz.

Last Saturday, elected to the position of first secretary were: in the Przywidz KG [gmina committee], Jozef Kazimierzczak; in the Osieczna KG, Stefan Klawickowski; and in the Wrzeszcz-Oswiata KZ, Jan Kordel.

Reports-elections meetings have taken place already in the Elblag region in over 90 percent of the primary party organizations. Also, conferences were held in a few party units at the first level.

Yesterday, subsequent PZPR reports-elections conferences deliberated in the gminas of Pieniezno, Milejewo and in the city-gmina of Frombork as well as in the Truso ZPO [Clothing Factory] in Elblag. Participating in their deliberations were, among others, secretaries of the KW of the PZPR Tadeusz Osko, Leszek Witkiewicz and Henryk Szumielski, as well as the first secretary of the KM in Elblag, Witold Gintowt-Dziewaltowski.

Conferences were held as well in the Markusy and Mlynary gminas.

The duties of first secretary were entrusted to Krzysztof Sniecikowski in the Pieniezno KG once again; Jerzy Wilczynski in the Milejow KG; once again, to

Mirosław Litwin in the Frombork KMG [city-gmina committee]; once again, to Ryszard Manko in the Markusy KG; also, for the second time, to Stanisław Sosin in the Młynary KG; and in the Truso KZ to Irena Ostalowska, also once again.

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CSO: 2600/426

PROVINCIAL PARTY DEVELOPMENTS REPORTED

Lublin Plenum

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 3-4 Dec 83 pp 1,2

[Article by (kuz): "The PZPR Provincial Committee Plenum in Lublin; Molding Social Consciousness Is the Business of All Party Cells and Members"]

[Text] A plenary session of the PZPR KW [provincial committee] was held yesterday in Lublin. The session was dedicated to ideological work problems.

The meeting was chaired by Wieslaw Skrzydlo, PZPR KW first secretary, with the participation of Henryk Bednarski, PZPR Central Committee secretary. The following invited guests also participated in the deliberations: Edward Harasim, ZSL [United Peasant Party] WK [provincial committee] chairman; Henryk Lusiewicz, DS [Democratic Party] WK chairman; and Tadeusz Wilk, governor of Lublin Province. Also present were: Stanislaw Zgrzywa, WRN [provincial people's council] chairman; Brigadier General Bernard Naregowski, WUSW [Provincial Office of Internal Affairs] chief; members of KW problems commissions; and ideological front activists.

Michal Bokiniec, PZPR KW secretary, read a paper on the tasks of the province's party organization concerning ideological work after the Eighth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee.

Among other things, Secretary M. Bokiniec said: "The practice of the past months confirms the validity of the methods selected by the party to overcome the severest crisis in the history of People's Poland. Through our own efforts, the deterioration of the economy has been halted, and we are beginning to emerge from the economic crisis. The trade unions, self-government and the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] are becoming more active in developing a socialist democracy.

"The party has maintained its ideological, hardened core; it is regaining its strength and ability to act.

"The political opponent, in spite of the fact that his influence is being systematically limited, is no longer gathering arms; but he continues to attempt to influence the social consciousness of many social communities

from varied positions (anarchosyndicalistic, utopian moralistic, and extreme rightwing).

"Thus, today, the central problem of the party's ideological activity is to influence extensively the working class and all laboring people to win their support for the PZPR program. The most important task is to popularize among working people knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, the ability to perform class analyses of social phenomena, and to approach the complex problems of socialism creatively. The ideological strengthening of the party itself and of all its members is also necessary to defend Marxism-Leninism more effectively, and to struggle actively--politically and ideologically--against the enemies of socialism and against imperialistic subversion."

Comrade M. Bokinieć also emphasized that the domain of the political struggle includes the economy as well as ideology.

Despite certain failures during the past 40 years under the leadership of the PZPR, the party of the working class has accomplished great transformations; among other things, the foundations of a socialist economy have been built, and independence has been preserved in alliance with the Soviet Union.

However, presently great ideological confusion, resulting from the difficult events and experiences of the past few years, is a characteristic of the ideological consciousness of Poles.

In ideological work, party organizations have the important duty to explain constantly the essence and the entire background of the present situation, to indicate the links between quality of work and the standard of living for individuals and the country as a whole and to disseminate knowledge of the laws and mechanisms of socioeconomic development.

The resolutions of the 8th and 14th Plenums of the Central Committee strongly support the general principle of reform, and the 2 million party members at all levels, from top to bottom, are required to work for changes in the economy.

Respect for productive and well-organized work should be fashioned as a source of material goods and of moral worth, as a right and obligation as well as a criterion for evaluating a person.

"An important sphere of political activity," emphasized M. Bokinieć, "is the struggle against evil in socioeconomic life, the concentration of the party's attention on eliminating autocratic and arrogant styles of management, haughtiness, favoritism, bureaucratism and extravagance. The party is duty-bound to examine every social problem from the viewpoint of broadly understood worker interests."

Forming proper relationships between the citizen and an institution is an exceptionally important matter. The all too frequent arbitrariness of authorities, the contempt of the citizen in daily contacts with a functionary produces a feeling of helplessness and unfair treatment that are linked not

only to the fact that some problem was not resolved as expected but also with the fact that it was done in an arrogant, mean and contemptible manner.

The PZPR KW secretary also devoted much attention to the party's active presence in the life of specific social groups and communities of working people as well as in social and mass organizations. He emphasized the scope of the expanded activity among the trade unions, the PRON, and youth organizations. He emphasized that in working with youth the party is emphasizing the development of a partnership, the subjectivity of youth organizations, maximum help in forming activists, providing more information and listening to the voices of young people.

He also discussed actions designed to increase the effectiveness of training work, emphasizing that reaching the hearts and minds of the vast public depends on the awareness of all party members, on their knowledge and their ability to convince.

In the concluding portion of his speech, he discussed the work facing the party as a result of the proposals recommended during the course of the reports-elections campaign to date as well as the tasks in the area of popularizing the accomplishments of the 40 years of the Polish People's Republic.

In the discussions it was emphasized that shaping the public's socialist consciousness should be the concern of all members, of every party cell.

Marxism can be learned from books and from lectures, but an ideologically mature party member is one who applies the ideological principles in life. On the other hand, there must be a return to the ideology of a status of mighty strength in the process of building socialism, strongly linking the three levels of activity (ideological, political and economic), making it known that ideology that arises from life, from practice, serves life.

It is necessary to rebuild from the ground up the forms and methods of party propaganda directed toward specific communities.

There is much concerned talk about the need to intensify ideological-propaganda work among youth. The need to tighten the links between the school and the family is emphasized. In discussing specific battlefronts concerning the public's socialist consciousness, it was emphasized that this struggle is a statutory obligation of each party member. Success in combating the various negative phenomena in our life, in strengthening social discipline, and law and order, will depend on party activity. It has been said that PPR (Polish Workers Party) members should be our model; they often gave up their lives for the party.

Much attention also was devoted to cadre policy. The need for ideological-propaganda work among plant management cadres and the need for systematic evaluations of these cadres were discussed. The speakers proposed many specific proposals, including the creation in Lublin of an interprovincial party school and the creation of a center to poll public opinion that would be associated with the Lublin Press Publishing Enterprise.



The following took part in the discussions: Edward Olszewski, Jozef Poloczek, Maria Bezyńska, Stanisław Markiewicz, Zygmunt Hładyniuk, Bernard Naregowski, Władysław Jopa, Zygmunt Mikujski, Stanisław Miciuk, Andrzej Mecinski, Leszek Podkański and Gabriel Sekula.

Henryk Bednarski, PZPR Central Committee secretary spoke at the conclusion of the deliberations. He praised the course of the discussions very highly, emphasizing their extensive scope, adherence to principles and their commitment. He emphasized the need to expand the ideological offensive in the struggle against various myths that remain within the social and political views of some communities as well as against all the negative phenomena of our life. He emphasized that the goal and, at the same time, the most important obligation of party echelons and organizations is to strengthen the direct links between the party and working people.

The contents of the executive board report as well as the proposals suggested during the discussions were formulated into a time schedule for implementing the tasks of the province's party organization after the 13th Central Committee Plenum.

The deliberations were concluded with the singing of the "Internationale."

#### Factory PZPR Reports-Elections Conference

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 3-4 Dec 83 pp 1,2

[Article: "The PZPR Reports-Elections Conference at the Krasnik Roller Bearings Factory with the Participation of W. Swirgon, PZPR Central Committee Secretary"]

[Text] Last Friday, 1 December, a plant PZPR reports-elections conference was held at the Krasnik FLT [Roller Bearings Factory], one of the region's largest industrial plants.

Seated in the hall were 99 delegates, representing over 1,000 members of the factory's party organization, and invited guests including, among others, Waldemar Swirgon, PZPR Central Committee secretary; Tadeusz Borszynski, PZPR KW secretary; Andrzej Gurba, PZPR KM [city committee] in Krasnik; and representatives of the provincial and city administrations.

The problems associated with the party's ideological work in the worker community, increasing the party's aggressiveness in arguing and explaining the party line, inspiring and creating conditions to implement the principles of the economic reform more effectively, including more effective management, were the central points of the retiring PZPR KZ [plant committee] executive board report and the several hours of discussions by the several dozen delegates. Much time was devoted to the problem of forming the active attitudes of party members who are confronted daily with criticism of the current economic policy and at times with opinions that are utterly negative concerning the accomplishments to date of People's Poland, and the aptness of the party's policy of activity that was established at the Ninth PZPR Congress.

Are party members sufficiently prepared for political and ideological arguments? And are the new forms of party training fulfilling their role? These questions were pondered during the discussions. The answer to these questions is all the more important because the FLT party organization has aged somewhat--the average age of its members is over 40. Thus it is important to restore trust in the party in the factory and to obtain support for its activities among nonparty people, and to obtain the best possible candidates from among the young workers who are outstanding in their attitudes.

During the past difficult term, the plant party organizations accomplished very much in this regard. The OOP's [branch party organization] closed their ranks, increased activity, tightened party discipline and expanded their influence in the community. However, this does not mean that everything that must be done has been done.

The activity of the party organization during the past term was evaluated positively, with emphasis, among other things, on its inspirational role in implementing the economic reform. The FLT accomplished much in this regard, taking advantage of independence of action to develop and implement a plant motivation system based on an internal economic auditing of the production departments.

Waldemar Swirgon, PZPR Central Committee secretary, speaking at the conclusion of the conference deliberations, emphasized, among other things, its edifying progress in concentrating on tasks that were presented to party organizations by the 8th and 14th Central Committee Plenums. The most important thing is to convince people, including party members, that the country and the economy are emerging out of the crisis, and that which was done during the course of the past 2 years stopped the retrogression and created the foundations for expanding the economy. The fact that some crisis phenomena still exist has its reasons, inasmuch as they are coinciding with the international slowdown of economic cooperation, with access to foreign credits, and the brutal interference of the United States and other Western nations in our affairs. Rebuilding the party's ideological life and strength is a necessary condition for it to take the offensive, the speaker added. Only facts, a positive program of party activity and responsibility for its implementation, can be convincing.

During a secret vote, Wieslaw Brodowski was reelected PZPR KZ first secretary, and Gabriel Sekula and Edward Dziurda were elected secretaries.

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#### The City Conference in Miedzyrzec

The discussion at yesterday's PZPR Conference in Miedzyrzec Podlaski was specific and objective. It was attended by 107 delegates representing over 780 members of the city's party organization. As indicated in the report, during the last term 271 members and candidates left the party's ranks. Presently, the organization's basic core consists of workers and white-collar workers, with very few young people participating.

The activity of the PZPR KM in Miedzyrzec Podlaski was directed lately toward enhancing the activities of the POP's [basic party organization] and all sociopolitical organizations. Much weight was also attached to developing the trade union movement. Presently trade unions are operating in all the plants in which they can form and have enrolled 40 percent of all the workers employed by Miedzyrzec's industry. Meetings are held systematically--each month--between the Informational-Advisory Group on Trade Union Affairs and the chairmen of the trade union organizations. The first secretary of the PZPR KM, the chairman of the MRN [city people's council] and the director always participate in these meetings. The people not only are permitted to present their problems, but they also are encouraged to help resolve community problems.

The PRON cell is very active in 23 Miedzyrzec plants and in all its schools. The Commission on Youth Affairs is beginning to function better and better. Young people have taken patronage over housing construction, which is a valuable initiative.

During the reports period, the PZPR KM attended 54 meetings. Some of these meetings were held jointly with the MRN presidium. This controlled the resolutions passed during the course of these meetings.

During the reports-elections campaign in the OOP's and POP's, 113 comrades were selected for party leadership, including 41 first secretaries, of which 19 were reelected.

In addition to intraparty affairs, much time was devoted in the discussions to city problems associated with housing, community affairs and the functioning of trade.

At the end of the meeting, new PZPR KM leaders and 14 delegates to the provincial conference were selected.

Gmina PZPR conferences were also held yesterday in Siemienie and Stara Kornica.

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#### School Conference at Maria Curie-Sklodowska University

A PZPR reports-elections conference was held last Thursday, 1 December, at the UMCS [Maria Curie-Sklodowska University]. Two threads of thought were dominant in the report presented by Stanislaw Grabias, first secretary of the retiring KU [school committee]; in part of the report given by Tadeusz Matynia, KU secretary; and in the later discussions. The first was a reflective evaluation of the past. The second consisted of the anxieties, hopes and expectations concerning the country's future, the academic community and the alma mater. Here are some of the questions.

The new KU term began in January 1982, shortly after the previous KU was dissolved. The initial activities were difficult because they were

accompanied by antipathy, mistrust and, in the best of cases, by the indifference of a large portion of the school's workers and students. These are not isolated cases of giving up membership cards. In these heated times, full of emotion, opinions were voiced by esteemed scientists, popular teachers and PZPR members which were increasingly effective, in favor of reason, moderation, and understanding. Consequences, however, were not lacking. During that period, 196 people were purged from the party's ranks and 25 were dismissed.

As was stated from the conference tribune, the return to normalcy in all areas of university life is one of the greatest successes of this term. Presently the academic organization consists of 482 members and candidate members, and applications for membership, including those from students, are flowing in, which is not happening that often in the country. Individuals who put aside their membership cards are making the same plea.

Maintaining this trend of activity, including greater concern about the ideological consciousness of all members, is the main task for the echelons in the new term. Those supporting this theme include Wieslaw Skrzydlo, PZPR KW secretary, and Prof Grzegorz L. Seidler.

We will name at least the main problems relating to the broadly understood academic life that were formulated by the speakers:

--the article of the statute on higher education concerning the uncompromising rotation of individuals employed as adjuncts is impracticable;

--the extent to which correspondence courses are being eliminated or even limiting them radically should be carefully analyzed;

--the departure of independent scientists is becoming a problem for the UMCS (lately five esteemed scientists have left the university). Remedial steps must be taken.

In a secret vote, a 27-member PZPR KU for the UMCS was selected; Prof Jan Rozyla of the Chemistry Institute was elected first secretary. Three delegates to the provincial PZPR conference were also selected during the conference.

#### Conference Discusses Fears, Hopes

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 5 Dec 83 pp 3,4

[Article by Alicja Zielinska: "Report of Party Conference Within the Warsaw University Branch"]

[Text] Discipline in the school organization is unsatisfactory. A certain number of people do not attend meetings, do not pay their dues, do not fulfill their statutory duties, and remain indifferent. Thus it is time

to ask: What should be the status of these comrades in the PZPR? For example, the meeting at the Law Institute was upsetting in that a 5-person executive board could not be filled from among the 43 present individuals. With difficulty four candidates were selected. In the end, a scientist, a retiree and a student were selected for the executive board.

The above statement by Dr Zenon Herba (first secretary of the KU of the Warsaw University Branch in Bialystok) was voiced during the latter part of the reports-elections conference. It is a reflection of the party's complex situation at the university.

The party organization consists of 228 members in 6 POP's, which were represented by 68 delegates. There are 92 fewer members since the last conference, of which 52 were purged and the remainder accepted other jobs. Proportionally, the youngest academic worker group contains the least party members. The general lack of party members among student assistants is especially disturbing. Only one such individual became a PZPR member during the last term.

The executive board was unanimous in considering this complete standstill as a negative factor. As was stated, there is a real danger that the party organization will be cut off from the academic community. The formation during this period of a separate student organization, initiated by the young people themselves, did not increase the party's ranks. In seeking the reasons for the party's weakening at the school, the KU first secretary raised several questions. The post-August changes in the party hampered the trend toward a formal, on-paper increase in members, and the country's overall difficult situation precluded political and ideological motives for joining the PZPR. In addition, the party's diminished participation in shaping cadre policies reduced its influence among young workers.

Proper programs and methods to influence academic youth were not developed during the reports period, despite the fact that student problems were approached with complete seriousness and responsibility. The committee initiated action favoring the initiation of student self-governments in the individual departments and in the DSs [Student Home], assuring the participation of young people in the life of the university. In the opinion of the executive board, the results of self-government work has been very meagre so far. The initiatives taken by the ZSP [Polish Student Association] concerning socio-living problems and the proper initiation of Operation Lato were evaluated positively; however, the number of ZSP members to date (250) is only a small percentage relative to the total number of students.

The executive board supports the idea of building a university in Bialystok. But to achieve this goal, the executive board said that it would be necessary to strengthen the cadres and to expand the premises. The committee is working actively with the school administration in these activities.

Another section of the report concerns cadre policy and trade unions. As emphasized, the cadre policy is evoking many reservations in the party organization because of the failure of university officials to consult the KU when making cadre decisions. The relationship of party members to the trade unions is also a controversial problem, even though a resolution of the 13th Central Committee Plenum obliges party comrades actively to support the trade unions.

These problems caused the greatest amount of controversy during the latter part of the meeting.

Then, Prof Jerzy Niemen, the deputy director of Bialystok Branch Affairs, spoke about the initial, difficult portion of the term. It began with the throwing away of party cards and the negation of the new situation, including the school's new administration. Life returned to normal slowly. Those who were offended, returned; those who should have left, left.

Despite this complication, the branch made some significant gains. It was during this period that the concept crystalized to create an independent university in Bialystok. The teaching cadre expanded significantly. Four more professors were added, eight were delegated from Warsaw University (they are teaching full time here), and seven professors are collaborating with the university. Counting the doctors and docents, 76 independent teachers are employed by the branch.

During the past academic year, six assistant professorship theses were delivered and another one is anticipated in December. In addition, 13 individuals have completed part of their theses, and 5 have commenced professorial studies. The qualitative changes are quite obvious.

Then the basic part of the meeting began. Dr Stanislaw Mestwin-Kostko of the Institute for Economic Studies is the first to take the microphone. In his speech he recounts the polemics among the conference's participants. Dr Mestwin discusses the following problems: the lack of available literature in most subjects (students have no concept concerning basic sources; they have to go to Warsaw for books); the shortage of working space (some departments, for example, the Pedagogy and Psychology Departments, operate under scandalous conditions and during student congresses the extra-mural halls are almost bursting); and the scientific-research themes under investigation by the school are rarely and only occasionally applied in practice to the economy of our region. Then, finally, the trade unions were discussed, the most discussed subject of the day. There is very little support for the unions at the university. Not too many party members have accepted the unions.

The ZNP has been in operation at the branch since March of this year and consists of 181 individuals (including 84 academic teachers), which represents 23 percent of all the personnel. The unions are involved in social problems, helping those who need it most. As described by the chairman of the board, the near-term goals are: to take care of the retirees; to obtain a permanent rest center; and to participate in making decisions concerning the distribution of awards and honors.

The question concerning the relationship of party members to the trade unions was a prominent feature in the delegates' statements. At times the statements were radically different. Dr Eugeniusz Ruszkiewicz said: "We should not return to the old way of packing the unions, of pressure. We should obligate party members to support the trade unions, but forcing them to do so harms not only the party but the unions as well because the public will once more get the idea that the unions are becoming agents of the party." Dr Zenon Herba asked: "How can the unions be supported if one remains on the outside?" Andrzej Krzywiec said: "The unions need not only moral support but organizational and financial support as well."

Włodzimierz Kolodziejuk, KW first secretary, related to this problem saying: "The party's task is to defend the trade unions. To fulfill this task, words are not enough."

Then the discussions were interrupted by procedural matters. The names of 23 candidates for the KU were read who were nominated by the delegate groups. Zenon Herba and Angelika Paszkiewicz of the Departments of Pedagogy and Psychology declined to become candidates. They are nominated as candidates for the city conference. Andrzej Kozuchowski of the Central Committee Department of Science, Culture and Education presented a picture of the party in the country's academic community. Basically, what is occurring at the branch is occurring nationwide. Party membership among lecturers and assistants is decreasing. Barely 1.1 percent of all students belong to the party. And only 10,000 individuals joined the ZNP, a small number.

Words were bandied about concerning PRON's role at the school. "Right now, more than anything else, we really need understanding and agreement," emphasized Docent Wenancjusz Panek. Several other speakers also made comments along this line. The integration of the school community should proceed above all in the direction that is most important to the school: the creation of conditions to create a university in Białystok as quickly as possible. The school faces immense tasks that will not be easy to resolve. There is a continuing shortage of qualified teachers; their numbers are decreasing more and more. On the other hand, a significant number of children are beginning their studies. This trend will continue over the next several years.

The work of the Resolutions Committee was ended. The following resolution of the reports-election conference was read: "The academic community is obligated to play its proper role regarding the renewal of sociopolitical life and overcoming the crisis in Poland. Party members have a special role in this regard; they should participate actively in the current of changes, in PRON activities, in participating actively in ZNP activities, helping to develop the student academic movement, inspiring youth organization work. The KU should collaborate with the branch authorities to shape a proper cadre policy and to strive to strengthen the party organization in the academic community."

The conference is slowly coming to an end. A political resolution is adopted concerning armament and deployment of American missiles in Europe. Next, the election results are announced. A 19-member PZPR KU was selected, which appointed two candidates for first secretary: Dr Kazimierz Meredyk, director



of the Institute for Economic Studies, and Dr Antoni Konarzewski. Docent Kazimierz Meredyk received the most votes. He will be the KU first secretary for the next term.

Jozef Kowalczyk (KM first secretary and POP delegate for the Department of Humanities), Zenon Herba and Jerzy Niemiec were selected as delegates to the city conference.

#### Campaign on Realistic Program of Activities

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 5 Dec 83 pp 1,2

[Article: "The PZPR Reports-Elections Campaign; A Realistic Appraisal of the Future and a Realistic Program of Action"]

[Text] The reports-elections campaign is continuing in the plant, gmina and city-gmina party organizations. At the same time, city conferences are beginning. In Elblag Province, the first city conference deliberated in Braniewo, and in Gdansk Province deliberations will begin tomorrow in Rumia.

In Zukow

Stanislaw Bejger, first secretary of the PZPR KW in Gdansk and Central Committee Politburo candidate member, participated in the deliberations of the Gmina PZPR Reports-Elections Conference in Zukow.

In his report, Zbigniew Jarecki, first secretary of the KG [gmina committee], presented an evaluation of the implementation of the resolutions of the last reports-elections conference that was held 2 1/2 years ago. He said the main tasks contained in the resolutions was executed.

Among other things, he said problems can neither be evaded nor waited out. At the same time, some party members and POP's are addressing their suggestions and grievances exclusively to the so-called top. This is not a positive phenomenon. The resolution of problems that are bothering people is a POP responsibility. Among other things, the POP's should present methods to mitigate and compensate for the effects of the price increases by assuring increased work output, thrift and additional work, and by creating conditions that will permit greater production and higher incomes in a healthy and economically justified manner.

Speaking about the economic reform, it was indicated that the selective approaches taken by workplace managers and self-governments wherein they select that which is convenient and reject those obligations that are indispensable is especially dangerous.

Referring to the course of the reports-elections campaign in the gmina, it was stated that at the meetings much attention and many resolutions were devoted, among other things, to the system of contracting and purchasing agricultural products, and to the functioning of agricultural circle and gmina cooperatives. Also discussed at these meetings were the need to concentrate land and to



improve qualifications by obtaining agricultural know-how. The party needs more POP activity. This is the statutory duty of each member and every organization. The present political situation in Poland and the international situation heighten the need to fulfill this obligation.

During the discussion and at the suggestion of one of the delegates, an anonymous letter sent to the PZPR KW first secretary in Gdansk was read which stated that the first secretary of the PZPR KG in Zukow was using his function for personal material gain. The matter was discussed by several delegates. All of them unequivocally evaluated the present KG first secretary positively and stated that the charges contained in the letter are untrue.

Taking part in the discussion in which the delegates considered a number of problems and matters concerning the gmina and its residents, Stanislaw Bejger emphasized that the conference not only was well prepared but was critical as well. The KW first secretary said, among other things, that the gmina organization undertook the realization of the resolutions of the Ninth Congress, and consistently carried out its obligations. The conference deliberations also demonstrated that the party in Zukow gmina is executing its leading role. The activity of party members is increasing, and their influence on the state and economic administrations has increased.

Stanislaw Bejger then discussed current socioeconomic problems; he referred to the current level of agricultural production and to other specific problems related to state and party agricultural policies. At the end of his talk, he referred to some of the statements made during the discussions.

In a secret vote, the conference selected new leaders for the gmina party echelon as well as delegates for the provincial PZPR reports-elections conference. Also, Zbigniew Jarecki was reelected PZPR KG first secretary.

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#### In Braniewo

In Elblag Province, the reports-elections campaign in the PZPR echelons already is at the city level. The first city conference took place last Saturday in Braniewo. It was attended by 95 delegates representing the 900 party members and candidate members in this city. Also present at the conference were Jerzy Prusiecki, PZPR KW first secretary; Col Zbigniew Stanczyk, KW executive board member; and Wladyslaw Mankut, director of the ROPP [regional party work center].

Wladyslaw Drag, KM first secretary, presented a report that described the activities of the city's party organization during the last term.

The KM and its executive board concentrated all their efforts on shaping positive attitudes, viewpoints and social moods; and on intensifying political and ideological-propaganda work based on the extensive output of the Ninth PZPR Congress.

Julian Kasprzycki presented the city audit commission report and Stefan Celmerowski presented the city party control commission report.

In presenting the KW's evaluation of the Braniewo party organization, Marian Derks, director of the KW Administration Department, stated that it is very good. Because of the political work conducted consistently by the KM, there were no strikes in Braniewo in 1981, and all problems were resolved without work stoppages. To implement the resolutions of the Ninth Congress, action was taken that was conducive to strengthening the party in the enterprises and in the communities.

Jan Komaiszko, Braniewo director, stated that thanks to the understanding and help of the workplaces the nursery-school space problem was resolved, an industrial health service institute was organized, and a special school will soon be initiated. The cultural base was expanded, and the educational information bureau is also operating under better conditions.

Suggestions of the residents were also implemented. The Saturday operating hours of stores, service organizations and schools were established. Many initiatives were taken to increase housing construction and capital repairs. Much attention was devoted to improving store supplies and health services in the center of the city. The very dynamic production levels achieved by Braniewo's industry deserves special mention. The economic reform is being implemented consistently. Cultural and sport activities have increased greatly, even though the Zatoka Sports Club is not self-supporting.

The following participated in the discussions: Franciszek Kasprzyk, Czeslaw Kozlowski, Stanislaw Hawrylo, Jozef Nawolski, Stefan Smirski, Jozef Siadko, Wladyslaw Wiercinski, Henryk Promis, Wladyslaw Mankut, Jerzy Litwin, Danuta Zywieczka and Antoni Wolodzko. They spoke about the need to continue rebuilding the party, and the need to pay special attention to young people and their problems. They also addressed the problems hindering the improvement of trade, education and the resolution of the housing situation.

Jerzy Prusiecki, PZPR KW first secretary, said: "The city echelon in Braniewo is among the best in the province; it is working consistently on the basis of the program outlined in the resolutions of the Ninth Congress and subsequent Central Committee plenary sessions. It is working seriously and fearlessly. Today, as in the past, it knows its goals and what it wants to achieve. It has gathered around itself people who are sincerely dedicated to the city, on whom it can depend on in all situations. Because of this, it has created a good climate for collective work."

At the end of the discussion, a resolution was passed containing a program for future action. It takes into account socioeconomic, intraparty and ideological problems.

As a result of the elections, Wladyslaw Drag was reelected PZPR KM first secretary (he has been performing this function continuously since 1966, which is probably a national record). Halina Ozdalska, Franciszek Kasprzyk and Mieczyslaw Jaruszewski were elected KM secretaries. Ryszard Misiewicz

was elected chairman of the MKR [city people's council] and Wiktor Tarando was elected chairman of the MKKP [city party control commission]. Nine delegates were also selected for the provincial conference, including Wladyslaw Drag and Col Zbigniew Stanczyk.

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#### At the Gdansk Repair Shipyard

Last Saturday at the plant reports-elections conference, 105 delegates representing over 700 individuals of the GSR [Gdansk Repair Shipyard] party organization evaluated the past 2 1/2 years of the last term. The period that passed since the last conference can be characterized by the complex socio-political situation in the entire country as well as by the many changes that have occurred in this shipyard.

The shipyard's economic and production problems and the problems of ideological-educational work were the primary themes of the deliberations in which the following also participated: Mieczyslaw Chabowski, PZPR KW secretary in Gdansk and UGM [Office of Materials Management] deputy director; Vice Minister Adam Krzysztoporski; Adam Misiurny, first secretary of the City Center KD [city district committee]; and Kazimierz Rynkowski, mayor of Gdansk.

This year GSR sales of its own production and non-industrial services will amount to 6.8 billion zlotys, 21 percent higher than last year. Sales will achieve 100.2 percent of the planned goals; the planned assortment of repairs and services will also be realized.

Sales to domestic and foreign shipowners will increase 15 and 21 percent, respectively. This year the value of exported production will amount to 3.1986 billion zlotys; exports to both the I and II payments areas will increase in value. The average wage will be 15,537 zlotys, 1,837 zlotys higher than anticipated.

Inspired by the PZPR KZ executive board, the shipyard directors initiated action designed to implement the economic reform. The implementation of the reform permitted higher productivity and significant increases in production to be achieved at relatively lesser costs. In the social sphere, the achieved higher profits contributed to higher individual wages and permitted part of this profit to be allocated for the social and housing fund. One of the most important problems is the goal to lower our own costs. This is served, among other things, by realizing the shipyard's anti-inflation and savings program that is designed, among other things, to improve the efficient use of material and energy-fuel resources, to improve work quality and output, to improve the rationalization of employment, to improve the results of technical progress and inventions and to realize the time-work standards. As a result of realizing this program, it is anticipated that about 300 million zlotys will be saved in a 3-year period.

Together with the implementation of the economic reform, a draft of changes in the organization and management of the shipyard was developed; in addition,

experimental principles for a motivational wage system have been developed. Also, a start has been made in rebuilding to a great extent the shipyard's capital assets, which have depreciated to a great extent.

However, despite 2,700-zloty increase in average pay compared to last year, the GSR still is not a competitive workplace relative to other enterprises, especially since conditions at the GSR are more difficult than at other shipyards. Currently 5,477 people are employed by the GSR, and young people up to 35 years of age represent over 50 percent of those employed.

In the discussions, problems related to the organizational and ideological activities of the party's plant organization were also mentioned. It was emphasized that the party must be able to fulfill its political inspirations and to evaluate and control all problems occurring in the shipyard area. A detailed analysis was also made of production, training and socio-living problems, accenting the need for a more effective resolution of the GSR worker problem. It was stated that better pay must be linked to better work results. Much was also said about the need to improve the mechanisms of the economic reform in the context of a proper division of the export premium. The professional training and education of young people was acknowledged to be a serious problem, thus justifying the urgent need to construct a boarding school.

Adam Misiurny, KD first secretary, presented the evaluation executed by the PZPR Gdansk-Port KD.

Then Vice Minister Adam Krzysztoporski awarded high state honors to especially outstanding GSR workers. Henryk Barglinski, Apolinary Katulski, Jozef Oska, Zygmunt Szadkowski and Zygmunt Szeliga received the Cavalier Cross of the Order of the Rebirth of Poland.

Mieczyslaw Chabowski, PZPR KW secretary, emphasized at the end of the deliberations that the plant party organization contributed to the stabilization of GSR's sociopolitical situation and created an atmosphere for peaceful work. The reports-elections campaign was a stage for internally strengthening the PZPR, the party based on class and worker rights. "Our party must be even more aggressive," stated Mieczyslaw Chabowski, "in order to overcome the crisis and implement the economic reform effectively." The KW secretary said that now a primary measure of the attitude of every member of the party is his relationship to the class, worker trade unions. The class struggle is now leaving the political slogan stage and entering the economic slogan stage; thus the cohesion of ideology, policy and economics is essential. Every worker must be represented in the leadership controlling worker interests and shaping the countenance of a strong socialist state. One must convince all those deemed worthy through one's own example, creating an ever widening front of active people.

The conference selected a 29-member plant committee, and Marian Kunikowski was reelected first secretary.

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Last Saturday PZPR reports-elections conferences were also held by the Smetowo gmina KG, with the participation of KW Secretary Mieczyslaw Stefanski, and by the Gniewino gmina KG, which was attended by KW Secretary Leon Brancewicz, and by the Liniewo KG, which was attended by KW Secretary Edward Kijek.

At the Friday PZPR reports-elections conferences, the following were selected as first secretaries: Jerzy Zielinski was reelected to the Karsina KG; Bronislaw Labun to the Krokowa KG; and Miroslaw Staszak to the ZNTK [Railroad Rolling Stock Repair Yards] KZ. On the other hand, a joint plenum of the city-gmina committees of the PZPR was held in Gdansk-Pruszcz at which Jan Safader was selected as KM first secretary.

In Elblag Province, a reports-elections conference was held by the Ploskini KG, which was attended by Henryk Szumielski, KG first secretary. Jaroslaw Kisielewski was reelected KG first secretary.

Tadeusz Osko, KW secretary, among others was selected as a delegate to the provincial PZPR conference during the gmina conference in Lelkow.

#### Campaign Covered at Various Plants

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 5 Dec 83 pp 1,2

[Article: "Various PZPR Reports-Elections Conferences"]

[Text] Tarnow's Nitrogen Plant: The Most Urgent Task for Modernization of the Plant

On Saturday, at the Chemical Technology School assembly hall in Swierczkow, delegates representing 1,178 PZPR members of the Tarnow Nitrogen Plant party organization convened for a reports-elections conference. Stanislaw Opalko, Central Committee Politburo member and PZPR KW first secretary in Tarnow, Stanislaw Nowak, governor of Tarnow Province, and Mieczyslaw Strzelecki, mayor of Tarnow were in attendance.

In his speech, Jerzy Maniawski, Central Committee member and PZPR KW secretary, devoted much attention to economic matters. Production has increased significantly during the past 10 months at the Nitrogen Plant and the number of employees has been reduced by 272, a significant accomplishment of the plant management and the work crews. This also improves the workers' financial situation. The revived trade union movement, which currently enrolls 2,000 members, and the worker self-government are important tasks facing the plant's party organization.

Unfavorable phenomena, however, continue to occur. Despite the continuous overhauling of the plant's aging equipment, the possibility of using simple reserves has come to an end and the depreciation of assets continues. Thus it is necessary to allocate a significant part of the profits to expand the enterprise.

Jerzy Pyzikowski, the chief director of the Nitrogen Plant, addressed this problem. He said, "The future of the plant depends on its modernization." Planned investments are associated not only with significant financial outlays, and execution problems pose much difficulty."

Many other problems were touched upon in the discussion, starting with supplying the market, which often is associated with the low production discipline of industrial plants manufacturing goods of inadequate quality (Edward Synowiec), with the need presently to revise the principles of the economic reform (Marek Morawicki), and ending with the shortcomings in the system for obtaining new workers (Jan Krawczyk). This latter problem is especially unsettling. The Nitrogen Plant is troubled by cadre problems. The graduates of the plant's technical school are not filling the plant's needs. Barely half of its graduates decide to work for the Nitrogen Plant after graduation. To improve the situation, closer cooperation between the school and the plants is necessary.

In summarizing the discussions, Stanislaw Opalko mentioned, among other things the economic situation in the province. In this regard, there has been a systematic improvement, as attested to by the 14 percent increase in production this year. The largest industrial plants have now reached 1980 production levels. Stanislaw Opalko praised the Nitrogen Plant party organization for their involvement and activity during the reports-elections campaign.

A 50-member PZPR plant committee was selected, and Jerzy Maniewski was reelected as its first secretary. In addition, 12 delegates were selected for the provincial conference and 27 delegates were selected for the city conference.

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#### Rabka: A Small Town, but an Important Health Center

Rabka, an important center on the health care map, is a national treasure and asset. Thus the entire country should aid Rabka in realizing its goals. This opinion, unchanged for years, was reiterated in the name of Rabka's 12,000 residents by its city-gmina party organization during the deliberations of the Sixth PZPR reports-elections conference. In addition to the 83 delegates, the conference was attended by Jozef Brozek, PZPR KW first secretary in Nowy Sacz; and Jozef Kurdzialewicz, PZPR Central Committee member.

"While waiting for the guidelines, we can conduct preliminary investigations of the problems," the reports paper stated. The party cannot neglect opportunities to win over allies for action. But the functioning of the party cannot be a shame. Divisions at the top and at the bottom, which are entrenched in some minds, weaken the party. This was discussed by Edward Konieczny, Jerzy Starzyk, Stanislaw Jaworski, Piotr Smolecki and in the summation by Jozef Brozek. To erase such an impression, Henryk Migacz suggested that frequent contact between echelon members is needed not only with the executive boards but with the entire party.

The self-esteem of activists will improve dramatically if Rabka's arguments are directed to the proper address. One such argument is the call to integrate health service facilities to better utilize unique medical equipment. There are many more problems that are vexing. If the owners of the rest centers do not help, then the city's purse will not be able to bear the cost of maintaining the infrastructure, and the degradation of the natural environment will be irreversible. The need for collaboration must be realized by the directors of the health and vacation centers and their immediate superiors.

During the conference Emil Myszor, Jozef Pelc and Jerzy Sieroslawski, who are PZPR members and association delegates, received letters of congratulations from the KW first secretary. A resolution was passed defending world peace. A 25-member city-gmina committee was elected, and Wladyslaw Swider was unanimously elected KMG first secretary.

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#### The Academy of Agriculture: About Better Links Between Science and Practice

The Krakow AR [Academy of Agriculture] held its seventh PZPR reports-elections conference. Jan Siekierski, KU [school committee] first secretary, presented the gains and losses of the past term. This question can be conceived more concisely when it is considered that the last term took place during a period of intense political struggle, which is still going on today. The party organization emerged from this period numerically weaker. It is a fact that the careerists and figureheads resigned their memberships, but it also cannot be denied that worthy people also left who could not resist the physical pressures exerted by the political opponents. The party's struggle for its place in the life of the academy was a significant element during the last term. Attempts to isolate the party organization were unsuccessful.

Three main themes dominated the discussions. The first one applied to the above-mentioned question. The second theme concerned the situation in the student community. It is a disturbing fact that students represent the greatest percentage of those who left the party for various reasons. Young people are concerned primarily with security and material well-being. This also manifests itself daily in the weakness of the youth self-government movement, in their meager participation in creating a community cultural life, in the lifeless pace of academic circles, and in incidents of ordinary vandalism in the Student Homes. To bring about the required changes in this area of life will require more decisive, and above all more effective action by the party as well as by the youth organizations.

The third theme, which was accented strongly, concerned the place of agricultural science in the life of the country. Professor Tadeusz Wojtaszak said it is not enough to have a good agricultural policy program. And comments concerning the role and significance of the food economy already are commonplace, despite the fact that in practice one sees a return to the old traditions of silence in the academic community that have been so disastrous. We have a number of examples here, the most impressive one being



the resignation of Professor Wojtaszak from participating in the work of the Scientific-Technical Council of the Ministry of Agriculture. The reason for this step was that several very good proposals and postulates were ignored. The speakers expressed anxiety over the continuously decreasing financial outlays for scientific research. Doc Dr Eugeniusz Otolinski spoke about changes in the forms of cooperation between science and practice. In the present situation these forms should reflect greater participation of helpful counsel and expertise in making current decisions rather than participation in long-term programs, the realization of which require high outlays.

The conference passed a resolution which, among other things, emphasized, at the proposal of Professor Wojtaszak, the need for uncompromising efforts to complete the Forestry Department buildings. Dr Lubomir Pawlowski was entrusted with the function of KU first secretary. And the conference delegates sent a telegram to PZPR Central Committee Secretary Zbigniew Michalek.

Kazimierz Augustynek, PZPR KK secretary; Jan Nowak, vice mayor of Krakow; Prof Tomasz Janowski, AR rector; Piotr Cebulski, director of the PZPR KK Department of Science, and others attended the conference.

\* \* \*

Luzna: One Can Achieve More by a Good Example

Among the province's administrative units, the gmina of Luzna is not the largest, but it occupies a prominent place on the economic map; it is famous for its good agriculture. The crop yields obtained here are among the best in the region, and the purchases of agricultural products and food that have been achieved in the first 11 months of this year exceed the province average. Today it has 230 tractors, exactly one for each farm having over 5 hectares of arable land. The party organization, which presently numbers 170 members and candidates operating within 11 POP's, can and must play a vital role in matters concerning the development of agriculture and in initiating social projects. Party members must influence the community by example. The party also has a big role in arranging cooperation between the rural school and parents. Youth affairs are not of secondary importance. Young people are needed on the farms; they must be inculcated with love for farming and respect for hard work. Efforts must also be made to eliminate the difference in living standards between the cities and rural areas.

These and many other specific tasks were outlined by the PZPR Luzna gmina conference in which Grzegorz Jawor, PZPR KW secretary in Nowy Sacz, among others, participated. The conference also selected a new PZPR KG. Wladyslaw Mikruta, who was praised highly for his work to date, was reelected as first secretary.

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Michalowice: To Create Conditions So That Young Farmers Remain on the Farms

"It is true that our party organization decreased numerically, but at the same time it recaptured its ideological stance; the comrades who stayed with the party, aware of their statutory obligations and tasks, acted as expected in the struggle," stated Leslaw Piechowicz, KG first secretary, last Saturday at the PZPR gmina reports-elections conference in Michalowice.

The discussions were varied. Krzysztof Zelek, a teacher at the State Home for Children in Sieborowice, said: "The rural population is aging. There is a need to create stimulating conditions so that the younger generation, especially young farmers, remain here, living and working in the rural areas." Bernadeta Obrzut, director of the consolidated Gmina school in Michalowice, said: "To obtain the needed teaching cadre in the rural areas, living quarters are absolutely necessary for them. It is necessary to resolve the problem of single-family building plots for teachers, who cannot afford to buy parcels from private owners at highly inflated prices."

Augustyn Jach, director of the Raciborowice school, said: "More steps must be taken to stimulate people to take social action. We already have examples showing that good results can be obtained this way." Stanislaw Kowalski, a Raciborowice mechanic, and Tadeusz Mars, a farmer from Sieborowice, also announced postulates on proposing initiatives for social actions. In presenting the problems of agriculture. Wlodzimierz Dziarkowski, a farmer from Wola Wieclawska, mentioned the need to improve the gmina's roads and to build new ones. He also discussed the prices paid to farmers in the context of cost of articles needed for agricultural production.

The water supply needs of the rural areas were also discussed, because a water shortage will reduce the production of animals and threaten the completion of the food freezer pavilion in Michalowice whose construction, though quite advanced, has been suspended. The opinion was expressed that the draft of the new taxes on farmers projects taxes that are a bit too high. It was emphasized that farmers are aware that they must produce more, but a big tax increase can cause private farmers to limit their investments.

Jan Czepiel, PZPR Central Committee secretary, participated in the conference, and during the discussions he devoted much time to agricultural management, the rural areas and the party organization operating in the area.

A program for the new term was adopted, which emphasized the top priority given to extending and strengthening the party's links to society. The program also calls for more social initiatives in that area which is necessary to aid the realization of various investments made by the gmina and Krakow Province.

A PZPR KG for Michalowice was selected, and the function of KG first secretary was entrusted again to Leslaw Piechowicz. A resolution was adopted condemning the war-like policies of the U.S. Government.

JOHN PAUL II PAPACY EVALUATED IN TERMS OF NATIONALITY

Warsaw TU I TERAZ in Polish No 43, 26 Oct 83 p 3

[Article by Florian Laskowski]

[Text] The statement made by Father Yves Congar in July of this year is of great interest, for it comes from an eminent representative of the Catholic Church, a theologian and Dominican. The fact that he made the statement to a Polish journalist gives it additional weight. In describing the Polish Church, Congar found features in it that are customarily mentioned by foreigners when they talk about the characteristics of Catholicism in Poland. But if this is so, it means that the historically conditioned nature of this institution and of the phenomenon itself must be contained in the constantly repeated opinions. Father Congar believes that a type of popular religiosity of an extraordinary scale and intensity prevails in Poland. In Congar's opinion, Polish religiosity is characterized by the classical form of faith, in which historical factors play the determining role. In the context of a religiosity formed in this manner, it is difficult to make any changes in the church. "At difficult moments changes are a difficult matter." One characteristic of such religiosity is the union of the church and the common people in Poland.

In France and other Western countries, on the other hand, all this disappeared long ago. The phenomenon of secularization has spread and pluralism has become dominant.

This naturally leads to the view that the special situation of Catholicism and the church in Poland is "not at all applicable" in the West; it "cannot be extrapolated to a different context."

The situation of the church in Poland, however, has been one of the formative influences on the personality of the present pope. Despite all his extraordinary popularity and the sympathy shown him, the pope is very often attacked and criticized by journalists who are by no means hacks.

This criticism and these attacks are connected with the style and content of the pope's activities, which critics associate with the nature of the church and Catholicism in Poland and which they regard as unsuited for the social and cultural reality there. By treating the Catholic Church in Poland as conservative, they regard many of the teachings of John Paul II--particularly in the

area of morality and theology--as deriving from a conservative source. John Paul II is fully aware of these attacks and arguments. One might conclude, therefore, that the conservatism which he represents here (from the critics' point of view) seems justified to him, since he believes that he is preserving what must be recalled, stressed and confirmed in the face of a relaxation of standards.

The issues in this area, however, are very relevant to everyday life and highly controversial. They require moral decisions of the most profound and delicate nature.

The decisions promulgated by the pope concern the banning of contraceptives, premarital sex, abortion, divorce, Catholic ordination of women, celibacy, homosexuality and other issues. The church, in the person of John Paul II, justifies and explains at great length its negative attitude toward these phenomena.

But the problem lies in the fact that despite these extensive and eloquent explanations, there is still a gap between the standpoint of the church and the position and practice of the faithful. Communities of the faithful do not voice outright resistance--as do many secular writers and journalists--but seem to preserve their own opinion, which in each case depends on everyday circumstances.

Thus there is a possibility, as pointed out by Father Congar, that a discrepancy will arise between the proclaimed message and its audience.

But it seems--and I wish to emphasize this point--that John Paul II's actions are motivated precisely by his awareness of this critical situation. By proclaiming explicitly, and with heartfelt conviction, views and doctrines that diverge from social practice, the pope demands that this social practice be changed and sets this as a task.

These actions, I believe, fit within the framework of the first general goal of John Paul II's pontificate: the moral and religious betterment of the communities of the faithful, the church, the world and humanity.

John Paul II is fully conscious of his mission. This gives rise to accusations that he does not always thoroughly discuss the theologically important decisions that he makes.

The feeling of his unique mission motivates the Pope to carry out a second task of extreme importance to him: the social and political betterment of the world. To be sure, John Paul II tells the clergy that political activity is not their service and mission, but that it is the obligation of the priests and the church to make a moral assessment of social and political phenomena, systems and actions. From this position derives the church's social doctrine and the involvement of the church institution in all important contemporary problems.

In this sphere the foremost issue is the maintenance and strengthening of peace between people, nations and states. John Paul II proves to be a visible spokesman on this issue and a major influence on the state of social justice and dialogue.

Father Congar, who looked more than sceptically at the possibility of extrapolating Polish ecclesiastical and religious experiences to another social context, spoke with startling optimism about the Polish example in the sociocultural sphere.

"You first of all can give something wonderful to humanity," he said at the end of July 1983. "Namely, a universal understanding of certain Christian values, avoidance of violent measures, dialogue, development of problems without violence; this can be a great contribution to the world, to all humanity. We are observing with the greatest interest what is happening in Poland, because this may have significance for all humanity: how even the most difficult and complicated problems and conflicts ought to be resolved."

There is no need to deliberate how much the pope brings Polish traditions into this sphere of problems and how much he is motivated by the world situation. What matters is that the head of the Universal Church is speaking out forcefully on issues of vital concern to human existence.

I shall continue my discussion of the second task mentioned here. The assessment of the contemporary sociopolitical situation in the world seems to find expression in the concept of the "civilization of love" elaborated by John Paul II. The social doctrine of the church does not support any of the existing social systems. However, John Paul II has directed much moral criticism against systems that, in his opinion, spring from the two sources of sociophilosophical thought: individualist and collectivist. In the controversy between these two opposing sociopolitical schools, the pope offers a third path, which is expressed in the formula "civilization of love." It represents an initiative that can be included in the sociocultural and sociopolitical task defining the nature of the pontificate of the Polish pope.

The pope formulates this task in a situation where ideology of a Marxist type inspires the liberation movements in Third World countries, particularly in Latin American countries. This ideology influences both the practice of Catholics in these countries and the formulations of theologians, principally liberation theologians. The concept of the Christian civilization of love--presented as a remedy for the worker in search of justice--is defined by four mottoes: the primacy of man over things; the primacy of ethics over technology; an emphasis, in the hierarchy of values, on human existence and personality rather than material possessions, i.e., "to be more" rather than "to have more"; and lastly, the primacy of mercy over justice.

One might note that the concept outlined here is above all an ethical one, which is based on the belief that an improvement in social relations and the liberation of humanity are possible, and solely genuine, as a result of spiritual transformation, an "inner revolution" in the human personality. Lay commentators on the encyclicals perceive in this concept the contemporary strategy of the Christian path to "socialism."

In this idea one can find one of the essential elements characterizing the pontificate of John Paul II.

Apart from the two characteristics mentioned here, is it possible to distinguish any other special feature of this pontificate? I believe it is. I suggest that the third task or third characteristic of John Paul II's pontificate is his aspiration to increase the strength and unity of the Catholic community of the faithful by increasing the power and authority of the central institution. This aspiration is also manifested, no doubt, in the pope's numerous trips. John Paul II is attempting to unite the Universal Church threatened by various trends, ideas, disputes and autonomous actions.

This attempt to impress upon the faithful the importance of unity seems understandable, necessary and perhaps even indispensable from the viewpoint of the church's tasks, goals and religious doctrine. However, the method by which John Paul II seems to want to accomplish this goal may cause misgivings, since to bring about this state of affairs emphasis is being placed on the strength of the social institution and on maintenance of discipline in the sphere of the socioreligious existence of God's people. One might suppose that John Paul II has great confidence in the central institutional form. This supposition, if correct, would mean that there is an inconsistency with the basic principles.

Alain Woodward, a correspondent for LE MONDE, wrote in an article marking the fifth anniversary of John Paul II's pontificate that the values advocated by the pope (such as obedience, discipline, the cult of the Virgin Mary, and strong church institutions) are vital for the church from which the pope hails.

For the Vatican figures who spoke with the journalist, the following question was said to be important:

"Is the Polish model the final model for yesterday's church, which is disappearing, or the model for the church of tomorrow?"

The Dominican, Father Yves Congar, would reply that the Polish model was formed by the specific conditions of its country and therefore peculiar to it and not suitable for transplantation.

The question of whether John Paul II is implementing this model remains open.

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CSO: 2600/313

ROMANIA

MEMBERS OF HIGHER HEALTH COUNCIL

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 62 bis 13 Aug 83 pp 1-4

[Text] Presidential Decree  
for approving members of the Higher Health Council

The President of the Romanian Socialist Republic  
decrees:

Article--The composition of the Higher Health  
Council given in the annex which forms an integral  
part of this presidential decree is approved.

President of the Socialist Republic of Romania  
Bucharest, 9 August 1983.  
No 210

ANNEX

COMPOSITION

HIGHER HEALTH COUNCIL

PRESIDENT

Deputy Prime Minister of the Government

Alexandrina, Gainuse

VICE PRESIDENTS

Minister of Health

Proca, Eugen

President of the Academy of Medical  
Sciences

Arseni, Constantin

Rector of the Bucharest Institute of  
Medicine and Pharmacy

Gherasim, Leonida

Rector of the Tirgu Mures Institute of  
Medicine and Pharmacy

Laszlo, Ioan

Rector of the Timisoara Institute of  
Medicine

Bacanu, Gheorghe

Vice President of the Union Committees  
of Syndicates of the Health Units

Petrescu, Maria

Director of the Bucharest Municipal  
Sanitation Administration  
Director of the Cluj District Sanita-  
tion Administration  
Director of the Iasi Institute of  
Hygiene and Public Health

#### SECRETARY

Secretary of State of the Ministry of  
Health

#### MEMBERS

Director of the Prahova District  
Sanitation Administration  
Director of the Bucharest Institute of  
Physiology  
Director of the Maramures District  
Sanitation Administration  
Senior Physician at the Arad Polyclinic  
Dispensary  
Director of the Timis District Sanitation  
Administration  
Director of the Bucharest Hematology  
Center  
Director General of the Bucharest National  
Institute of Gerontology and Geriatrics  
Director of the Satu Mare District  
Sanitation Administration  
Rector of the Cluj-Napoca Institute of  
Medicine and Pharmacy  
Secretary of State of the Ministry of  
Agriculture and Food Industry  
Director of the Bucharest Institute for  
State Control of Medicine and Pharmace-  
utical Research  
Secretary of State of the Ministry for the  
Machine Tool, Electro-Technology and  
Electronics Industry  
Director of the Petrosani Municipal  
Hospital, Hunedoara District  
Senior Physician at the Miercurea-Ciuc  
District Hospital Harghita District  
Director of the Bistrita-Nasaud District  
Sanitation Administration  
Chief Physician at the Gherla Polyclinic  
Dispensary, Cluj District  
Attache to Chemical Industry Ministry  
Senior Physician at the Satu Mare "Mondiala"  
Enterprise Dispensary

Iacob, George

Patiu, Zoe

Rugina, Valeriu

Oradean, Lidia

Alexandrescu, Mircea

Anastasatu, Constantin

Andru, Doina-Elena

Anghel, Martha-Elisabeta

Anghelescu, Lucia-Ioana

Apateanu, Vlad

Aslan, Ana

Babici, Dumitru

Baciu, Ion

Balint, Constanta

Baloescu, Corneliu

Baltag, Vasile

Banacu, Mihail

Barabas-Pany, Eva Rozalia

Barbos, Liviu

Barbu, Luminita

Barbulescu, Nicolae

Bauer, Emilia-Eliza

Director of the Mures District Sanitation Administration	Becus, Mirela
Secretary of the Central Committee of the Organization for Democracy and Socialist Unity	Benea, Doina
Director of the Hunedoara District Sanitation Administration	Beres, Gal Maria-Elisabeta
Director of the Bucharest "I. Cantacuzino" Institute	Bilbie, Vlad
Chief State Sanitation Inspector of the Arad Antiepidemic Sanitation Center	Birea, Marius
Director of the Vaslui District Sanitation Administration	Birladeanu, Nicolae
Chief of the Radiology Clinic at the Bucharest "Dr. I Cantacuzino" Hospital	Birzu, Ion
Director of the Buzau District Sanitation Administration	Boboce, Valeria
Vice President of the National Women's Council, Attached to the Justice Ministry	Bobu, Maria
Secretary of the Timis District Party Committee	Borbil, Lucian-Adrian
Director of the Lugoj Children's Neuropsychiatry Hospital, Caras-Severin District	Bucatea, Traian
Director of the Iasi District Sanitation Administration	Buiuc, Constanta
Director of the Arges District Sanitation Administration	Capata, Constantin
Director of the Craiova Hospital for Infectious Diseases	Ciobanu, Iosif
Chief of the Medical Clinic at the Bucharest "Grivita" Hospital	Ciobanu, Victor
Director of the Constanta District Sanitation Administration	Ciobanete, Veronica
Director of the Olt District Sanitation Administration	Ciocan, Aneta
Secretary of the U.G.S.R. Central Council	Ciocan, Maria
University Professor, Chief of the Clinic of the Bucharest "23rd of August" Hospital	Ciortoloman, Margareta-Henrieta
Chief Physician at the Botosani Blood Collection and Storage Center	Cirlan, Gabriela
Director of the Teleorman District Sanitation Administration	Ciubotaru, Melany
Chief nurse at the Bucharest "Brincovenesc" Hospital	Constantinescu, Stefania
Director of the Calinesti Commune Hospital Arges District	Craciun, Ion
Director of the Botonsani District Sanitation Administration	Crauciuc, Ramiro
President of the National Council of Pioneer Organizations, Secretary to the C.C., U.T.C.	Cristescu, Poliana
Director of the Cugir Town Hospital, Alba District	David, Romulus



Director of the Tirnaveni town hospital,  
 Mures District  
 Director of the Bucharest Institute for  
 Physical Medicine, Spas and Medical  
 Recuperation  
 Director of the Dolj District Sanitation  
 Administration  
 Director of the Braila District Sanitation  
 Administration  
 Director of the Bucharest Technical-Medical  
 Industry Enterprise  
 Director General of the Bucharest Industrial  
 Center for Medicines, Cosmetics, Dyes and  
 Glazes  
 Director of the Bucharest "Calarasi"  
 Children's Hospital  
 Director General Attached to Romanian  
 Radio and Television  
 Director of the Vrancea District Sanitation  
 Administration  
 Professor at the Bucharest Institute of  
 Medicine and Pharmacy  
 Director of the Bucharest Municipal Hospital  
 Chief Physician of the Constanta Tuberculosis  
 Dispensary  
 Director of the Bucharest Hospital Emergency  
 Clinic  
 Secretary of State Minister at the National  
 Council for Science and Technology  
 Rector of the Iasi Institute of Medicine  
 and Pharmacy  
 Professor, Chief of Clinic at the Bucharest  
 Municipal Hospital  
 Director of the Bucharest Hospital Central  
 Children's Clinic  
 Vice President of the Committee for Popular  
 Council Problems  
 Director of the Caras-Severin District  
 Sanitation Administration  
 Director of the Vilcea District Sanitation  
 Administration  
 Director of the Bucharest Medical Center  
 for Phonoaudiology and O.R.L. functional  
 Surgery  
 Director of the Suceava District Sanitation  
 Administration  
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# PLACE, ROLE OF WOMEN IN SOCIALIST SOCIETY

## Increased Presence in All Fields

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 16, 20 Aug 83 pp 25-27

[Article by Stana Buzatu: "Growing Affirmation in All Social Life"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

**[Text]** The woman's role in society, her social, political and human condition and her manifestation in all spheres of activity have a place of major importance among the essential value coordinates that define the general policy of the Romanian Communist Party, the orientations, directions and ways of the strategy for building the multilaterally developed socialist society and advancing our country toward communism.

Concerning itself with more and more efficiently utilizing the creative potential of women, our party has recently taken new steps meant to contribute to their even stronger affirmation in social life, in the management of society. Along this line goes the Program Regarding the Selection, Training and Promotion of Women to Management Positions During the Current 5-Year Period, adopted by the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee in June 1983. Having in view the woman's more and more significant place and role in society, the Political Executive Committee has asked the managements of the ministries and other central institutions to see that in the ensuing period, up to the next party congress, the percentage of women in the total management positions rises significantly, reaching 27 percent in 1985, as compared with the 6 percent that it is now. In addition, the bureaus of the county party committees have been told to take all steps so that at the level of the centrals and enterprises, the agricultural units and the institutions the percentage of women in the total management positions represents over 30 percent, as compared with the 14.4 percent that it is now.

The articles in the present discussion approach, from various angles, aspects of the problems of the woman's role in our

society and the current concerns for utilizing the creative potential of women in social, political and economic life.

In the view of the Romanian Communist Party and its secretary general, the woman's condition is, at bottom, the condition of society itself, the reflection of its state of progress. Approaching the problems regarding the woman's affirmation in society, our party starts from the premise that socialism, by the social laws themselves that legitimate its place in the ascent of humanity's civilization, has the mission /of securing the full implementation of the principles of liberty and equality for all members of society, men and women/. "We can say with pride," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated, "that our socialist order has provided for the release and stronger and stronger affirmation of the creative energies of women in all fields, which demonstrates strongly that conditions for the woman's true equality in rights with the man, for the active participation of women in the management of the entire society, are created only when the people become masters of their fate, when the order divided into antagonistic classes is eliminated."

In the RCP's policy, the promotion of a condition of equality of the woman with the man does not represent a circumstantial element or an abstract desire but signifies a consistently followed practical policy. The woman's affirmation and the growth of her role in all social life give expression to the ideals of social equity and justice, constituting an intrinsic component of the whole strategy of economic and social development and of growth of the human personality, in accordance with our order's goals and the means that the Romanian social and political system puts into operation.

The theoretical depth and the special attention with which the party and its secretary general are originally and creatively approaching the dimensions of the woman's status in our socialist society, and the rejection of any attitudes filled with prejudice or conformism, are closely correlated with the systematic preparation of a set of measures on an economic, legal, political and educational plane, of a nature to fit the manifestation of women into the process of utilizing the material and human potential of society and to secure the multi-lateral fulfillment of the personality of all members of society. "In no way have women done less than men have done in various difficult circumstances of the revolutionary struggle," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out. "Likewise in science and production. Women not only do not do less but, in many fields, do even more and with more skill. Starting from this, we must see that the woman occupies the proper place in relation, if you will, eventually, to the 51 percent that she has in our society."

These are judgments and specifications that show convincingly the spirit of justice and equity in which are conceived all the programs of measures adopted by our party, especially after the ninth congress, for increasing the woman's role in the entire life of society, which, gradually and, of course, not without difficulties, are bearing fruit, enriching the social, political and human climate of the Romanian socialist society. In their spirit, the process of integrating the women in cities and villages into labor, into the sphere of social and public activity, has followed an ascending line, a high rate, which involves a growing area of inclusion of the fields of development of society.

They reflect conclusively the impact exerted by all of the provisions contained in the country's constitution and in the legal and legislative norms devoted to the woman's social status.

Naturally, /the provision of the right to work, the recognition and special appreciation that the contribution of women to social production gets and the acknowledgment of the prestige and dignity that labor free from exploitation confers on the millions of women in fulfilling and affirming their human personality/ are in the forefront.

As a result of the application of the program of measures prepared by the party, under the direct guidance of its secretary general, and the exigency with which Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has pursued and is pursuing the firm application of the orientations established in the party and state documents, notable achievements have been obtained in the field of /the vocational guidance and development of women, their integration into labor and their promotion to management positions in all links of organization and operation of the country's economic, social and political life/. In this regard, it is significant that women represent over half of the increase in worker personnel in the last 10 years, so that their percentage in the total worker personnel is now 40.8 percent in industry, 42 percent in science, 64.3 percent in education, culture and art and 74.6 percent in health care, welfare work and physical culture.

Through the diversification and modernization of the branches and subbranches of the national economy--a result of the scientifically substantiated choices for economic and social development of the country--the number of women who work in the high-tech branches--chemistry, machine building, electronics, electrical engineering and others--has risen year by year. Such progress in socio-professional integration is strongly influenced and stimulated by the policy of development and modernization of education--which provides unimpeded access to vocational development and qualification for all daughters of the country, in accordance with their own aptitudes and inclinations--by its close connection with production and scientific research and by the constant activity directed toward the guidance, qualification and continual raising of the qualifications of the work force under the impact of the scientific and technical revolution. In secondary education, for example, women represent 46 percent, and in specialized postsecondary education, over 67 percent of all those contained in this system of vocational training, and in higher education the percentage of female students is over 44 percent. Women represent over half of the personnel who possess a secondary education and over a third of those with a higher education, over 20 percent of all engineers and, in higher education, over 30 percent of the teaching personnel. A large number of women are members of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania and other forums of education, science and culture in Romania and abroad. The degree of integration of women into social, material and spiritual production and the quality of this integration represent a condition of their equality in rights and, at the same time, an expression of our social and political system's capacity to utilize the immense potential for progress that women possess.

The qualitative changes in the field of the woman's professional activity have an extremely important place in the dialectics of the processes with a

formative, instructional and educational character that her new status in society entails. In this area lie the complex phenomena of the achievement of the condition of independence of the woman not only from a strictly economic viewpoint, a not at all negligible matter, but especially from the viewpoint of the evolution of the profile of her personality, from that of her affirmation as an authentic subject of social creation. Here too there have their origin the many and difficult transformations in the sphere of social behavior, called upon to overcome the stereotype of the conceptions, more correctly put, the preconceptions regarding the woman's so-called "inability" to devote herself to social activities regarded for a long time as being preeminently of a male bent. Once again it is proved that such transformations do not make their way except under the conditions in which the country's general economic and social development causes qualitative restructurings in the technical and technological characteristics of the infrastructures of social production, restructurings meant to permit, gradually, a reduction and, in the future, the disappearance of the stereotype of the roles according to sexes, on which not only the division of labor between women and men has been based, but also the value hierarchy of this labor, with its whose series of social and human consequences.

The woman's affirmation and promotion in the life of contemporary Romanian society, including in management positions, are indissolubly connected with the continual concern of the party and state for conferring on maternity the full recognition of its social value. This fact is conditioning to a high degree the processes of greater integration of the woman into the life of society. The many aspects subsumed within this field constitute the object of the policy of our party and state regarding the family, a fact illustrated not only by the vast range of legislative regulations but also, equally, by the considerable funds allocated for the raising and education of the younger generation and for the social protection of the mother and child.

A result of the qualitative changes that are occurring in the woman's social status, /her participation in political, state and public life, in the democratic management of society, constitutes one of the areas indicative of the condition of the woman in Romania and, at the same time, an important motive force for the progress of our order/. Equality in rights also means equality in participation in the management of society, this representing a requirement of revolutionary consistency, of socialist democratism. "We have the obligation to do everything to see that women, who represent more than half of our nation and who have a prominent role in the nation's entire development, participate actively in the management of all sectors of activity, of our whole society, in accordance with their capacity and power...", Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed. "We must start from the necessity that all our bodies regard and treat the woman just like any citizen. We must judge them in this way and not as a category with which we must concern ourselves from time to time. The woman must find her place in all management positions, as she has in production, in relation to her capacity, her real possibilities. As regards political and intellectual capacity, there is no difference."

/The woman's promotion in the management of all social life is motivated by the revolutionary laws and processes themselves for building the multilaterally developed socialist society and advancing Romania toward communism and by the



political and moral principles that guide the full affirmation of the human personality in the vast realm of conscious historical creation/.

Of course, the woman's participation in the management of society has represented from the outset one of the constant components of our party's policy of building the new order. But we believe that it is not possible to actually and realistically speak about the woman's promotion to responsible jobs except just in the period that follows the ninth party congress and, in context, after the plenum of the RCP Central Committee on 18-19 June 1973. This is the time that clearly marks a leap in this regard precisely because, for the first time in the years of socialism, a basic analysis regarding the stage of equal affirmation of the woman with the man and regarding the current problems that are raised by social life in the complexity of its determinations is being undertaken in Romania, there being adopted a vast program of concrete measures meant to secure the raising of the woman's role in the entire life of society. In this spirit, the leadership of the party and state and, personally, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu are acting with the greatest determination to increase the number of women in the party and in order for responsible jobs to be entrusted to women in relation to their contribution to the country's development, their aptitudes and their level of vocational and political training.

At present, women represent over 30 percent of all party members. For the first time in the years of socialism, women have been promoted to first secretaries and secretaries of the county party committees. There has been an increase in the number of women who are secretaries of municipal and city committees and secretaries of party committees in big economic, social, cultural and scientific units and of communal party committees. In the composition of the Central Committee and the Auditing Commission of the party, women represent 25 percent of the total number of members; three women are members and five are alternate members of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee.

In this context, it is fitting to stress the remarkable example of revolutionary and political devotion of Comrade Acad Dr Engr Elena Ceausescu, a leading militant of our party and an eminent scholar of world renown. Comrade Elena Ceausescu's brilliant qualities, recognized and acknowledged with high scientific titles, awarded by prestigious forums in the country and abroad, have been happily completed by her investiture in the positions of member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee, first vice prime minister of the government, and chairman of the National Council for Science and Technology.

In implementing the party's policy of stronger and stronger affirmation of the woman in social life, in the management of society, notable accomplishments have been obtained. Despite the efforts made, however, it must be noted that the structure of the decisionmaking bodies in the democratic system of our society does not reflect fully the level of the requirements of the current stage of development of the country, does not reflect fairly the contribution of women to material and spiritual creation. The measures established by the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee in June of this year start from these essential considerations. As is specified in the decision

adopted, having in view the more and more important place and role of women in Romanian society, the Political Executive Committee has asked the managements of the ministries and other central institutions to see that in the ensuing period, up to the next party congress, /the percentage of women in the total management positions rises significantly, reaching 27 percent in 1985, as compared with 6 percent now/. In addition, the bureaus of the county party committees have been told to take all steps so that at the level of the centrals and enterprises, the agricultural units and the institutions the percentage of women in the total management positions represents over 30 percent, as compared with the 14.4 percent that it is now. Of course, all these things will lead to extensive changes in the country's entire social life. The investiture of thousands and thousands of women with management positions, on the scale of the whole hierarchy of the democratic system of operation of society, will mark /the involvement of a new and valuable source of energy, perseverance and competence in the country's social and economic progress and the utilization of our socialist nation's creative potential on a higher level/.

The promotion of women to management positions corresponds to the party's consistent policy of developing and improving the democratism of our socialist society, it responds to the imperatives of the continuation of the revolutionary processes in Romania, the attainment of a new quality of work and life in all spheres of activity, and the development of the socialist and communist civilization in the ancient abode of our people.

#### Better Jobs, Better Education

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 16, 20 Aug 83 pp 27-28

[Article by Dr Emil Mesaros, member of the National Commission for Demography: "The Woman in the Context of Social and Economic Development"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] In his work "Woman and Socialism," published in 1879, August Bebel, the well-known militant of the German and international working-class movement, wrote that "the woman in the new society is completely independent from a social and economic viewpoint...." Indeed, on the assumption of political power by the working class and after the passage of the main means of production into its possession, the conditions for solving the much discussed "female problem" are also created.

/Referring to the situation in Romania, the realities demonstrate that in a short period--only about three decades--the economic and social situation of women has improved radically/. The number and percentage of them in the country's social and economic activity have been and are continually rising. The woman's role in political, scientific and cultural life, especially after the Ninth RCP Congress, has grown considerably.

In Romania, at present, there are practically no sectors or fields of activity from which the woman is excluded. For reasons of space, I do not intend to give a historical account. In my opinion, it would not be possible to give an unequivocal, categorical answer to the question of whether or not the "female

problem" has been solved, and this is at least because there has been not a /single/ female problem, but a large number, a /set/ of such problems. Some of them have been solved or are in the process of being solved, while /other, new ones are appearing/, unknown previously and generated, in large part, by the evolution, the progress of society.

Consequently, even in this case it cannot be said that a problem is solved automatically and forever in all respects. In order to tackle the subject in question, I would start from the thesis of the woman's liberation /in stages/, to which end, with a certain conventionality, it would be possible, I believe, to formulate the following basic scheme referring to our country:

/In the first stage/, after the liberation, there occurs the abolition of the old norms and practices discriminatory to the woman, who becomes equal to the man from a legal viewpoint. In this stage, there still do not exist conditions and possibilities for the woman to be able to be fully independent from an economic viewpoint too. And this is for several reasons: a large number of women are still illiterate or have a low level of instruction, as a result of the limited access to schooling under the conditions of the old order; the number of women with a suitable vocational skill is low, for which reason they cannot hold various positions in social and economic activity, alongside men; as a result of the absolutization of her biological function under the conditions of the old order, the woman is still, to a great extent, "the slave of the hearth," there going to her exclusively the task of raising and supervising the children; the economy, still poorly developed, cannot offer enough workplaces for the women, in large part, until not long ago, homemakers, housewives and so on.

/In the second stage/, the material conditions are gradually created so that the woman may become independent from an economic viewpoint too: the economy's technical-material base is developed; a greater number of workplaces, including for women, are created; the network of units for education, vocational training and so on, which offer to women the possibility of obtaining a skill, a profession, is diversified and developed; the number of preschool units and institutions, which free the woman more and more from the exclusive care for the children, increases.

It could thus be asserted that the woman becomes equal to the man and independent from a social and economic viewpoint in proportion to society's development and in step with its progress. Of course, the above-mentioned "stages" are not the only and final ones. In this regard, the recent decision of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee regarding the growth of the percentage of women with management positions marks the start of a /new stage/, higher from the viewpoint of content, in solving the same problem.

Starting from the above considerations, a few essential aspects, in my opinion, of the woman's social and economic situation in Romania in the current stage should be noted.

The degree of participation of women in social and economic life has been and is conditioned by the level of development of the production forces and by the

rate at which socialist production relations have become dominant in the economy. Examining the evolution of the percentage of active women from an economic viewpoint over a period of about two decades, it can be seen that it has some peculiarities--namely, it is rising in the urban area and falling in the rural area. Here are a few data from the censuses (see Table 1).

Table 1. The Percentage of Active Women from an Economic Viewpoint

<u>Year</u>	<u>Urban</u>	(in %)
		<u>Rural</u>
1956	32.5	61.8
1966	36.0	54.9
1977	41.4	48.2

This evolution, apparently contradictory, has some objective causes. In the years prior to the conclusion of the cooperativization of agriculture, a large number of women, including young women, were "active," being employed in the personal household. Even in 1966, 32 percent of the women up to 20 years old were still employed in agriculture, as compared with only 14 percent in 1977. Then, as a result of the acquisition of "nonagricultural" professions, many young women were employed in economic units of a corresponding type, located, in general, in urban localities.

The passage or guidance of women, especially the young ones, toward the nonagricultural sectors of the economy can be considered a great achievement of the new order, a practical demonstration and an important step on the way to equalizing the woman's situation with that of the man on a socioprofessional plane too. In this regard, there is a dialectical interconditioning between the two series of data presented above.

On the other hand, this evolution also includes some qualitatively new elements, less known ones that turn up especially in the urban area: /the percentage of active women at the extremes of the age scale is falling/. Work in the personal household, in shops of the artisan cooperative system and so on causes the continuation of a large number of mature women in activity and, in some cases, the earlier beginning of activity for girls. For example, in 1966, in the urban area, about 10 percent of the active women worked in units of the artisan cooperative system. The generalization of 10-year education has caused, on the other hand, the "delay" of the entry of girls into social and economic activity before having been properly educated. The minimal utilization of the labor of children, in general, and of girls, in particular, represents a achievement of recent years.

From the above, it is possible to draw the conclusion that the woman's full economic integration and her equality with the man on a socioprofessional plane are conditioned by the acquisition of the various professions by the woman to the same degree as the man. From this viewpoint, four to five decades ago, the situation in Romania was clearly unfavorable to the woman.

Between the two world wars, the percentage of women who had acquired high-level skills or professions was insignificant in comparison with that of men. Such

a situation constituted an obstacle in the way of the promotion of women on a social scale even during a certain period after the liberation. The woman's status was also similar as regards other, middle-level professions, trades and so on. The situation has been rectified considerably in recent years, and an examination of the age structure of women with a higher education leads to the judgment that /the previously existing gap has been reduced considerably/. A few data referring to 1977 are cogent in this regard (see Table 2).

Table 2. The Percentage of Persons with a Higher Education in the Active Population, According to Age and Sex

<u>Age</u>	(per 1,000)	
	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
25-39 years	202	162
40-59 years	150	56
Over 60 years	63	8

It can be seen that in the case of the persons who graduated from higher education about 40 years ago (those who now have passed the age of 60 years) the gap is about 1 to 8 against women.

At present, this gap is only about 24 percent and hence there follow, in the future, real conditions and possibilities for putting the woman on the same plane as the man from a socioprofessional viewpoint too. This conclusion is also valid with regard to other levels of qualification or instruction--obviously, in a varying manner.

The view that certain professions or fields of activity would be more proper or suitable for women is relatively widespread--and not without reason. Granting--conditionally--this view, we cannot but observe that in the past even some traditionally "female" fields of activity were in large part the prerogative of men, as follows from Table 3.

Table 3. Of 1,000 Persons with a Higher Education

<u>Type</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
Legal higher education	803	197
University and pedagogic higher education	389	611
Medical and pharmaceutical higher education	498	502
Artistic higher education	535	465

However, this general situation, noted on the occasion of the 1977 census, is much better in the case of the younger age groups, which attests to the effectiveness of the orientation, in recent years, toward stimulating the participation of women in the most diverse fields of activity. Thus, the above-mentioned proportion in the case of university and pedagogic education is 656 per 1,000 for women of 25-39 years of age, as compared with only 487 per 1,000 in the case of the 40-59-year age group.

A clear trend of improvement in this proportion is also noted in connection with technical higher education: 214 women with a technical higher education, on the whole, per 1,000 graduates of this type of education and 241 per 1,000 in the case of women of 25-39 years of age--thus, those educated in the last period.

What really is the significance of these data in relation to the woman's social and economic situation? The fact that equal pay is given for equal work to those who do it, regardless of sex, does not fully clarify and does not exhaust the problem of the woman's equality with the man from this viewpoint. The essential thing lies in the answer to the question: How many women obtain for equal work the same pay as men? And, under the current conditions, this depends on qualifications, on the degree of vocational training. This is why the data referring to younger women allow it to be judged that, /once the gap in question is eliminated, there is no longer any obstacle in the way of achieving this equality in practice/.

In addition, as regards the above, a question legitimately arises: /What really are the place and situation of women in the newly appearing professions generated by the scientific and technical revolution?/ The Romanian realities in recent years lead to a positive answer, in general, in the sense that this category of professions has not bypassed women, has not become the prerogative of men. Women represent over 42 percent of the scientific personnel, over 48 percent in the profession of chemical engineer and so on. However, there still are also some professions of "peak technology," such as, for example, that of engineer in power generation, electrical engineering, electronics, automation, computers and so on, in which women still have a relatively low percentage. The stimulation of the guidance of women toward such professions in the future is thus wholly justified.

#### Shortcomings in Training, Assigning of Women

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 16, 20 Aug 83 pp 28-30

Article by Florica Dumitru, principal economist in the Ministry of Labor: "Vocational Guidance, a Way To Efficiently Utilize the Female Work Force"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface/

Text The decision adopted by the RCP Central Committee, in the session of 21 June of this year, during which the Program Regarding the Selection, Training and Promotion of Women to Management Positions During the Current 5-Year Period was examined and approved, constitutes a new and graphic expression of our party's policy, consistently oriented toward growth in the role of women in the country's economic, social and political activity, toward better utilization of the potential of the female work force, which, it is known, represents about half of the country's population and about 48 percent of the total labor resources.

The over 11 million women in our country owe to the party and, personally, its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the high appreciation that they now get for their active contribution to fulfilling the tasks in the field of



material and spiritual production, to educating the younger generation and to managing the entire society. Especially after the ninth party congress, the generous idea of the necessity of the full integration of women into social life and, thereby, of the legislation of their legal, political and social equality turns up in practically all party documents.

Equally an example and an incentive, a prominent militant of the party, an eminent scientist and scholar of world renown, Comrade Elena Ceausescu is diligently overseeing the application of the policy of increasing the role of women in society and the improvement of their working and living conditions.

Not long ago, a decade elapsed since the plenum of the RCP Central Committee in June 1973, which, through the decision adopted, devised the long-term strategy for increasing the role of women in the country's political, social and economic life, stimulating the concerns for their vocational training, employment in labor, and promotion to management positions. Thus, under the conditions of rapid economic and social development, on the basis of industrialization, the growth and modernization of agriculture and the other branches, and the improvement of production and social relations, /an increase in the contribution--quantitative and qualitative--of women to economic, political and social activity is being registered/.

Nowadays, there is almost no field of activity in which women are not present, do not manifest their skill and thrifty spirit, devoting their entire energy to the advance of society, to the attainment of the splendid objectives established by means of the national development programs drawn up by our party and state. Thus, of the over 6 million women of working age, nearly 4.6 million are employed in economic and social activity, with about 2.6 million of them performing their social activity within an enterprise or institution.

/In comparison with the start of the last decade, the structure of the employed female population has registered essential changes in favor of industry and, within it, in favor of the branches carrying technical progress/. Women are present with an appreciable percentage in the fields of scientific research, commodity circulation, education and health care.

The vocational guidance of young women toward certain trades and specialties--conceived as a conscious activity of guidance of the labor resources and having as an objective both the economy's general interests and the division of labor according to sexes, depending on their biophysiological attributes and the demands of the different workplaces--now has an organized character, it being achieved in many ways and by means of many scientific instruments. For instance, the profiling of secondary and vocational education with a preponderance of technical disciplines provides for the qualification of the young people of both sexes, in a varying manner, according to the fields suited to their biophysiological characteristics, with a view to rationally utilizing the work force from the viewpoint of the structure according to sexes.

Both the list of trades, specialties and positions that can be held by women and the programs of measures drawn up on the basis of the decision of the plenum of the RCP Central Committee in June of this year for increasing the

participation of women in the activity in enterprises and institutions have an important place within the vocational guidance of women and the securing of more efficient utilization of their creative potential. In this spirit, the list of trades, specialties and workplaces meant for women, drawn up by the Ministry of Labor, the Ministry of Education and Instruction, the Ministry of Health, the General Union of Trade Unions in Romania and the National Council of Women, supplemented and improved in accordance with the conditions existing in the socialist units and taking into account the technical facilities and the specific character of the activity in each economic branch, contains 759 such trades in the current edition. The list represents, at bottom, the synthesis of all the experience accumulated in the activity of guiding women, employing them and integrating them into labor.

The measures adopted with a view to the ever more active participation of women in production activity, and in social life, in general, have been and are accompanied by the activation and stimulation of all the factors that favor and concur in this process. Thus, in comparison with 1972, the number of places in nurseries and in kindergartens has increased 3-fold and over 2-fold, respectively. In some enterprises, conditions have been created so that women with small children or special family difficulties can work half-time, thus facilitating their attraction to or continuation in useful social activity. In order to lighten the work of women so that they can respond to the many demands on a professional and family plane, the volume of services and commodity sales for the population has increased more than 2.5-fold in the same period, along with their continual diversification.

As a result of the set of measures adopted, on all levels, and the application of the provisions of the list of trades accessible to women, the utilization of female labor resources has registered big rises in all branches and counties of the country, both through the increase in new workplaces and through the inclusion of a larger and larger number of young women in training and their employment in production. At the level of the whole national economy, in the 1973-1982 period, an increase of 944,300 women employed in labor was registered, which means an average annual increase of 105,000.

The numerical increase in female worker personnel also shows up in the growth of their percentage of the total personnel--from 33.1 percent in 1973 to 38.2 percent in 1982, with higher percentages in industry (41.1 percent) and commodity circulation (60.2 percent). /It must be specified that about two-thirds of the women in the labor force are members of the working class/.

As a result of the growth of the concerns connected with the training and employment of women in activities to which they may effectively make their contribution, in accordance with their aptitudes and biophysiological characteristics, the number and percentage of working women have risen especially in the trades provided by the list of workplaces accessible to them. At present, of the existing number of working women, over 172,000 are makers of clothes and underwear, 147,000 are personnel for production and sales in trade, 73,000 are weavers, 7,000 are electronics and 28,000 are operators in the activity of plastic and rubber processing.



Our party's and state's persevering policy of harmoniously developing the production forces on a territorial basis has had as a result /the growth of the percentage of women in the total worker personnel in all counties, but especially in the ones that benefited from more marked development in the last 5-year period/. In addition, the placement of enterprises of a light-industry type in the mining basins in Valea Jiului, Motru, Abrud-Cimpeni-Baia de Aries, Alba County and in other localities has attracted to the sphere of material production thousands of wives and daughters of miners, drillers and metallurgists, with conditions thus being created for employing the labor resources available in the respective areas. Indirectly, this fact is helping, at the same time, to stabilize the work force already employed and to maintain the demographic balance by eliminating an important cause generating the migration of the work force.

Along with the increases of a quantitative nature in the employment of the female work force, substantial changes of a qualitative nature have also taken place, in the sense of its penetration into the branches not traditionally female and connected with the contemporary scientific and technical revolution. Implicitly, we are dealing with /the phenomenon of growth in the level of training, of qualification, a process dictated by the characteristics of modern production, by the newly appearing fields/.

In this regard, it is noteworthy that the percentage of girls in the total graduates of schools and secondary schools has increased to 46 percent, a percentage almost equal to that of women in the total labor resources. At present, the meeting of the need for skilled working women is being done mainly from the graduates of schools and secondary schools, which, year by year, is leading to the growth of the "human holdings" with vocational training of suitable quality. Over 200,000 young women, of which about 80,000 added to the existing female worker personnel both a numerical increase and their professional knowledge acquired in school, graduated from secondary and vocational education in 1982 alone.

The achievements obtained are indubitable and they illustrate eloquently the special concern that our party and state are showing for increasing the competence of women and their contribution to the country's economic and social development.

Despite these definite achievements with regard to the vocational training of a greater number of women and their employment in labor, there still are some shortcomings, generated here and there by the insufficiency or inefficiency of the activity of vocational guidance and selection of the female pupils for the trades that they can practice. Subjective motivations--springing sometimes from the ambitious aspirations of the parents and sometimes from those of the candidates with a preconceived orientation toward lines of work mistakenly regarded by them as being the only ones with social prestige--cause an excessive demand for them on enrollment in schools and the failure to fulfill the schooling plan for some lines of work less valued on a socioprofessional scale, which causes some counties to not be able to ensure, in all cases, either the filling of the workplaces on a local level or the employment of the graduates in conformity with the vocational training acquired.

Under the conditions of tendencies of less mobility, characteristic of young female graduates, in the sense that they do not take easily to leaving their place of origin, the dysfunctional aspects that result from "training for the sake of training" generate difficulties both at the level of the economy, as regards the provision of the work force in basic sectors, and on a territorial basis, as regards the complete utilization of young female graduates.

The training of girls in trades which apply particularly to men and which, on graduation, the young women cannot practice leads, on the one hand, to the creation of a shortage of personnel in basic trades, and on the other hand, the young female graduates constitute a surplus that, with a view to employment, must be retrained. However, the necessity of retraining a large number of young women entails new investments and keeps at a high level the percentage of women trained in qualification courses, with poor knowledge in the new field of activity, which puts them, for long periods, in the situation of not fulfilling their production quotas.

We mention only that our state's efforts regarding schooling and professionalization are evaluated at billions of lei, and the responsibilities that are connected with training the work force in accord with the economy's requirements obliges all the factors with tasks in this regard to act with high responsibility and exigency to fulfill the imperatives of quality in this field of activity too.

It is not possible to omit, either, the fact that the implementation of the principle of the equality of women with men on the plane of participation in social, political and economic life still requires constant work of persuasion for eliminating archaic prejudices and mentalities still existing in some people. The quality of the vocational training of women, the capacity and seriousness with which they accept the difficulties of a professional nature, and the tenacity with which they strive to overcome them constitute--it can be said--the only convincing argument. However, the responsible choice of a profession constitutes--in the opinion of the specialists, confirmed by experience--an essential condition for full integration and the attainment of professional performances of a nature to command authority and to "correct" the attitudes of ignoring the woman's potential for labor and creation.

The intensification, on all levels, of the propaganda work for making known to pupils the specific character of the economy of the counties and the need for skilled personnel, along with the careful observation and following--as early as the first years of school, by the teaching personnel--of the fields in which the pupils show some inclinations, and the careful orientation and guidance of them on the threshold of the "steps" will surely be found, with good results, in a suitable structure of the work force, trained by schools and secondary schools, with positive influences on the "cost-profit" ratio, both in favor of the young women and in that of the entire society.

## Factors Favoring Advancement of Women

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[Article by Dr Andrei Stanoiu, Dr Maria Voinea and Dr Ioan Mihailescu: "Defining Coordinates of a New Social Status"]

[Text] The extensive and complex process of building the new order in Romania has presupposed and presupposes, as a component part, a continual change in the woman's social status and role. At the basis of it are such objective transformations produced in our society's social and economic structure as the abolition of capitalist private ownership of the means of production, socialist industrialization and the rational placement of the production forces on the territory, the socialist transformation of agriculture, the strong social and territorial mobility of the population, the marked growth of the urbanization process and so on.

Although, in essence, we can judge that the changes occurring in the woman's social status constitute, in the final analysis, a response to the transformations in the socioeconomic structure of society, we cannot neglect, however, the fact that the evolution of this status is much more intricately determined, it being, in practice, the result of the combined action of a multitude of factors of an economic and social, political, legal, cultural and educational, psychological and other nature. A decisive role in this regard goes to the political factor, of course, with /the growth of the woman's role in society constituting a continual concern of our party and state, especially after the Ninth RCP Congress/ **[in boldface]**.

The abolition of capitalist private ownership and of the economic inequality generated by it has turned into a prime objective factor for establishing real, authentic equality between the man and the woman, both in society, in general, and in the family, in particular. Benefiting alike, as working people, from equal positions with regard to the main means of production, ownership no longer plays an essential role either in the formation of married couples, in the selection of a partner, or in the division of roles and the distribution of authority between husband and wife. Of course, personal ownership of movable and immovable property and the extent of this ownership maintain their importance for a long time. However, the sociological research done leads to the conclusion that the objectively determined trend of evolution is to reduce the role of personal ownership, to gradually eliminate the economic criterion in selecting a partner and to base the relations between spouses on feelings of love and mutual respect.

Socialist industrialization and the more and more sensible placement of the production forces on the territory, within the framework of a policy of securing the harmonious development of the whole national economy and of each particular area of the country, have exercised a considerable influence on the evolution of the woman's status and role in our society. This has been concretized in the massive attraction of women to extrafamilial activities, with consequences regarding demographic behavior, the relations between the partners in the couple, and the woman's participation in exercising the functions of the

family (especially the economic and educational functions). Among other things, the fact is significant that in the total employed population women have a percentage of 43.8 percent, which indicates a very strong involvement of women in directly productive activities.

In its turn, the socialist transformation of agriculture has generated essential changes at the level of the traditional peasant family, has produced a substantial change both in the functions of the family (especially the economic function) and in the distribution of authority within it. Associated with strong territorial mobility, the processes in agriculture have led gradually to the situation in which women represent the biggest part of the work force in this field of the economy, a phenomenon known under the name of "feminization" of the agricultural work force, with many implications, whose meaning requires, of course, a separate study.

It should also be borne in mind that the considerable reduction of the role of the household in the rural family also means, implicitly, a change in its economic function. Although the family of the peasant cooperator no longer functions as a production shop, this does not mean the disappearance of the productive dimension of the family, the abolition of the role of the peasant household. On the contrary, under the conditions of the consistent application of the provisions of the Program for Self-Management and Self-Supply on a Territorial Basis, a revitalization of the economic function of the rural family is expected to be produced. Given the socioprofessional structure of the rural population and of the work force in agriculture, women are the ones to whom there goes a role of maximum importance in the household of the family.

The urbanization process--both from the viewpoint of the numerical growth in the urban population and its percentage in the whole population and from that of the "urbanization" of the rural area, its modernization as a result of its own social and economic development, and the many influences exercised by the urban area--also constitutes a factor with a big share in changing the woman's place and role in the family and in local collectivities. In the main, it is a question of an interference of the traditional rural and urban family models, of a concomitant change in them, of the formation of new models, closer to one another (from the viewpoint of the manner of formation of the couples, the relations between spouses and the relations between generations) than the traditional urban and rural ones, and of the closeness between the urban area and the rural area with regard to the attitude toward women and the woman's participation in productive activity and in social life.

Of the multitude of factors that have become objective premises for the changes occurring in the situation of the woman in our country, we also mention the continual growth of the degree of schooling of the whole population, especially the female population. The growth of the level of schooling is capable of helping to change the relations between the partners in the married couple, the distribution of roles in the family, and the attitude toward maternity (with direct implications regarding the number of children wanted and achieved and regarding practically all the functions of the family).

The legislative regulations involving the establishment of full equality between men and women (the Labor Code, the Civil Code, the Family Code and so on)

represent another important factor by means of whose action conditions have been created for significantly changing the woman's place and role in the family and society.

The action of the above-mentioned factors has led to significant changes in the woman's status, changes that can be identified both on a social level and on a family and individual level. We have in mind, in particular, the marked growth in the percentage of women in the whole work force, their growing participation in production activities, in the achievement of national income, which is leading to the gradual equalization of the economic statuses of women and men. In a close connection with this equalization, there is occurring an intensification of the participation of women in political and social activities, concretized in an increase in the role of the women's organizations, in a more and more significant and active presence of women in the management bodies on all levels, and in their substantial contribution to initiating and carrying out municipal-administrative actions. The massive participation of women in extra-familial activities is helping to widen their possibilities of instruction, to raise their level of general information. In addition, this participation favors the establishment of equal relations between the partners in the couples, due to the woman's greater contribution to meeting the family's budget, as well as to the many obligations that her status as a working person entails. Women have gained an important role in supporting the family, in providing for its well-being and in fully integrating the family as a social group into society.

It should be mentioned that, in comparison with the traditional family in our country, there is noted, as follows from sociological field research, a clear trend of equal redistribution of roles and authority between spouses within the family. This process of equalization has a contradictory character, there still being elements of traditional family relations. Thus, one notes the more specialized character of the participation of women in domestic activities in comparison with the much more diffuse character of the participation of men; men assume the part of domestic activities that are done with greater periodicity, while the routine part of them goes to women. In the majority of the cases, the tending of the children still goes to women. As regards the distribution of authority in the family, the man still has a privileged position, especially in the case of families with a lower level of instruction and in the case of families in which the wife is a housewife. The idea that the woman is the one who has the responsibility of keeping house and taking care of the children even when she is engaged in extrafamilial activities is still found to be quite widely accepted.

The intensification of the participation of women in production and social activity has meant an extensive process of emancipation of them. Gaining economic independence, the woman emerges from the state of subordination to the parents and the husband. As a result, the chances of choosing a husband according to personal preferential criteria and the age at which she marries are greater. The dowry traditionally offered to the woman by the family, as a kind of reward given to the husband, is being replaced more and more by the personal "dowry" (level of instruction, vocational qualification and so on). At the same time, having an independent income, the woman acquires a potential status of equality with the man within the family. The woman's justified aspiration for an equal



distribution of roles and authority in the family, generated by her economic status, can sometimes be--as the sociological field investigations show--a source of family tensions in the case in which archaic mentalities regarding the statuses and roles considered "proper" for the woman are maintained.

The gaining of the awareness of the social utility and importance of the complex activities that the woman performs constitutes another important coordinate of her emancipation. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed, "The diligent and enthusiastic work of women, their talent and still, their love for the homeland, their devotion to the cause of socialism are also crystallized in all the great victories gained by the Romanian people, under the party's leadership, in the years of socialist construction, in all the revolutionary transformations accomplished after the liberation in Romania's economic, social and political life." The growing participation of women in economic life, the growth of the level of instruction and the gaining of the awareness of the place and role that go to them in society are helping to change the system of aspirations, entailing a fuller agreement between their real contribution in various sectors and the recognition by society of their contribution to economic and social development, a more marked involvement in the organization and management of social life. These changes in the woman's place and role in the family and society are helping to a large degree to attain the basic political objective of multilateral, harmonious development of the personality, of creation of the new man, an active, conscious and responsible leader of our socialist society.

Taking into account the greater and greater contribution that women are making in economic, cultural and educational, and public activity, our party and its secretary general are militating actively for as wide social recognition of this contribution as possible, for the securing of fuller and fuller participation by them in managing all social and economic life in our country. /The steadier promotion of women to responsible jobs in all sectors of activity, in conformity with the party decisions, represents an act of social equity, of actual achievement of equality between men and women. At the same time, it constitutes an objective necessity of the current stage of development of our socialist society/ in boldface. The successful implementation of these decisions presupposes an intense activity of education for eliminating backward mentalities regarding the so-called "superior" capacity of men to perform social and political activity and to do management work, mentalities existing in a not at all insignificant number of both men and women, and a firm attitude against bureaucratic practices, more or less hidden tendencies to hinder, in one form or another, the access of women to management work. Our socialist society is a society built consciously by all the working people, with each citizen, regardless of sex, having the obligation not only to take part in the general effort to build the new society but also to participate in the management of all economic and social life.

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